

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HE following authentic Papers were sent by Mr. Van Sittart to some of his friends in England, and arrived the latter end of the last year.

Some few Extracts from them were before obtained in the East Indies, and were sent from thence to England, together with some partial quotations, and a bad version of a Persian Letter or two, and were here published the beginning of last year ; with how unfair and unjust an intention, was evident from the reflexions and observations which then attended them.

They now come forth intire, and with no other design than to gratify every lover of truth : which purpose, it is thought, they will best answer, when thus fairly given up to candid inquiry, without either narrative or remark to bias the mind of the Reader.



8022 bbb 18

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

THE following persons were sent by Mr. V an agent to some of his friends in England, and arrived the latter end of the last year.

Some few letters from them were before obtained in the East Indies; and were sent from thence to England, together with some partial questions, and a bad version of a Persian letter or two, and were the principal information of last year: with how useful and useful an information, was derived from the relations and observations which they attended them.

They now come forth again, and with an object more to gratify curiosity than of such which was a cheaply bought and sold, and which was sent up to some of the friends, without other notice.

# ORIGINAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

DISTURBANCES

IN

B E N G A L. *[Appendix]*

CONTAINING

EVERY MATERIAL TRANSACTION

From 1759 to 1764.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL I.

---

*Mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?  
Falsus honor juvat & mendax infamia terret  
Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem? Vir bonus est quis?  
Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat?*

HOR. Ep. I. 16.

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, at the Bible and Sun in  
St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCC LXV.

ORIGINAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

DISTURBANCES

IN

CONSTITUTION  
EVERY MATERIAL PROPORTION

FROM 1750 TO 1760

IN TWO VOLUMES



London: Printed by J. Johnson, in Pall-mall, near the Theatre, 1760.  
Price 10s. 6d.

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Printed by J. Johnson, in Pall-mall, near the Theatre, 1760.  
Price 10s. 6d.

MDCCLX.



GENERAL

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## PRELIMINARY PAPERS.

- Year. { \*\*\*\*\* STATE of the East India Letter of  
} S Company's trade and pri- reference.  
} S S privileges in former times. — }  
\*\*\*\*\* The phirmaund (or grant) A, C, Ca.  
of King Furruckseer, obtained about Cb.
1716. the year 1716—is directed to the officers, &c. of the Port of Houghly, and other ports—confirms prior grants—English hereby exempted from payment of customs and duties on their imports and exports—the treaty was made for the benefit of the *Company*, not of *private persons*—procured by Mr. John Surman and Kauja Sirhud, agents of the English company—orders the magistrates of the country to afford support to the English in their *just* concerns.
1759. No *new* privileges of trade granted B. by the treaty which was made with Meer Jaffier, by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive—it confirms the articles agreed on before with Serajah Doula. The trade in salt continues to belong to the government of the
- A 3 country

- Year. country, and to be claimed by the Letter of Nabob Jaffer—his complaints of English encroachments. The same complaint from the Shahzada (the prince) that the English had begun to carry on a large trade in salt and betelnut, and refused to pay the duties on those articles:—none of the Company's servants, not the Colonel himself, ever engaged in the trade of salt without the Nabob's special grant. Salt an unprivileged trade—complaint against Mr. Chevalier. — The officers of the government have an undoubted right to see the Company's dustuck (permit) — no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company, and others usurping the English name. — Mr. Chevalier refuses to explain the commission under which he acted. — Mr. Sumner's appointment to the chiefship of Dacca.
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1759. Cb. Cc.
1758. Cd, Cc.
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- 29 July. H a.
- 7 Aug. A. E. G. stop put to the Company's investment. N. — The

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—The Zemindars (subordinate go-  
vernors) withheld their payments—  
by the Nabob's inability for business,  
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government.—Jaffier's jealousy of the  
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A 4 soldiery



**Year.** soldiery—he had the Nabob's promise, Letter of  
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**1760.** the vacant offices, in the room of the Nabob's deceased son, and to be also named his successor. — Uncertainty of Jaffier's resolutions — increase of the English influence, most of all dreaded D. 1,

**Sept.** by him—Cossim came to Calcutta in September—conversations with him. — The select committee had in view, First, to secure to the Company a revenue proportionable to the increased military expences, brought upon them by their connections with the Nabob. — Much larger supplies necessary to maintain our army; which, being employed for the sake of the Nabob and the country, should by them be paid — want of a body of cavalry under our command.

Secondly, to put an end to the war in Bengal by a decisive action, or by P. a treaty with the Shahzada, who claims the throne of Indostan. —

**11 Sept.** Province of Patna not capable of supporting the Prince any longer. —

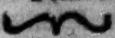

Necessity of entering into engagements with Meer Cossim. — Critical state of the Company's affairs and those of the country; Jaffier's inability to remedy the one, and his disinclination to contribute any assistance to the other.

Jaffier had already caused to be assassinated or taken off, every minister and officer whom he knew to be attached to the English — Coja Haddy and others in Nov. and Dec. 1758, and in 1759, Rheim Cawn and many others.

**1758.** In 1758, secret negotiation of Jaffier's with the Dutch, for trans- D. porting

# C O N T E N T S.


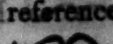
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- Year.  porting troops from Batavia into these provinces — that armament arrived during his visit at Calcutta—that they came by his invitation was acknowledged by Colonel Clive and the Council, as appears from the narrative of that Dutch business, transmitted to the Court of Directors, and to our several Admirals. — Private instructions given by Jaffier, contrary to his own public orders, relative to the demolition of the new works at Chinsura.  Letter of reference.
- 1758.
1760. In the beginning of the year 1760, the Shahzada invaded the provinces again, with a force more respectable than in the preceding year.
- Feb. 1. Col. Clive resigned the government H. early in February, 1760. About the same time, the Morattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country. — Jaffier's pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders to his general.
- The country became a prey to the Morattas.
- A stop is put to the collecting our assigned revenues.—Jaffier refuses the assistance of his troops to our commanding officer.
- 22—24 Proofs of Jaffier's attempting to ne- E. gociate a separate treaty with the Prince (see Letters to Major Caillaud, in Mr. Holwell's Address, printed for T. Becket.)
- April. Obstructions raised by Jaffier, as to our collection of our rents.
- Secret treaty between the Morattas E. and Jaffier.
- No design of removing Jaffier from the Subaship.
- One

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- Year. One of the first things agreed to be Letter of  
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dignity.
- 24 Aug. Perplexity of the money matters G.  
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- 5 Oct. — desertion of the Seapoys.  
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Jaffier's opinion of Cossim Aly K. L.  
— Pondicherry — difficulties at M.  
Madras.
- 7 Aug. State of the treasury and expences N.  
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Chittagong — Nabob's refusal. O.  
Our force has been encreased ever  
since we have extended our influence  
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- 11 Sept. Revolt of the Beerboon Raja. Q.  
Nothing remained to Jaffier in the  
whole province of Bahar, but Patna- Q. Y.  
Fort.
- 15 Sep. Further deliberations on the state  
of affairs, the objects of which were;  
First, The securing a fund of R.  
money for the present and future ex-  
igencies of this settlement, as well as  
the other two Presidencies.  
Secondly, The putting an end to  
the disturbances fomented and kept  
up by the Shahzada in several parts  
of these provinces.  
1. Q. Can this better be affected  
by continuing the present system of  
opposing the Shahzada; or,  
2. By proposing to him an alliance  
with the English, and part of our  
forces to proceed with him to Delly?  
That the power of the Nabob  
should be strengthened, under the im-  
mediate



Year.  mediate influence of the Company — Letter of  
a well concerted alliance with him  reference.  
1760. might be of great use, to acquire to  
ourselves a large body of the Nabob's R.  
troops to join with our own, in op-  
posing any attempts of European  
Powers.

Resolved, To consult Cossim Aly  
Cawn on the subject of the great ex-  
pences, the want of money, and the  
difficulties brought on the Company R. S.  
by the system of supporting the Coun-  
try government with our troops.

Much given up in other parts of  
India, for the sake of providing for S.  
the safety of Bengal.

16 Sep. Reply of Cossim Aly—He under-  
takes to remedy the distressed state of  
the Company's affairs, and the dis-  
orders of the country government, if  
the general management of the pro-  
vince were placed in his hands, and  
the Nabob rescued from the influence  
of his present advisers.

The season was now begun for our  
forces to take the field—scarce a rupee  
in the Treasury.

The Company's former successes  
had left them an establishment, that  
had lost the foundation on which it  
was built; a military force, propor-  
tioned to their connections and in-  
fluence in the country, without the S.  
means of subsistence; a fortification  
begun upon the same extensive plan  
at a vast expence; and an alliance  
with a power unable to support itself,  
and threatening to involve them in  
the same ruin.

General disaffection to Jaffier's S.  
government — revolt of many of the  
principal Rajas (or Princes) — the  
massacre

Year. massacre perpetrated at Dacca, by the Nabob's order, recent in every mind. *Letter of reference.*

1760. Committee unanimously resolve on a treaty with Cossim Aly, which was executed the 27th of September. *D, 1.*

## ARTICLES.

First, The Nabob Jaffier to continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs to be transacted in his name.

Second, Cossim Aly to be placed in the administration of the affairs of the provinces, and to have the reversion of the government.

Third, Alliance offensive and defensive.

Fourth, The Europeans and seapoys of the English army, shall be ready to assist the Nabob in the management of all affairs.

Fifth, For all charges of the Company, and of the said army, and provisions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, shall be assigned.

Sixth, Sillet.

Seventh, Former balances to be paid.

Eighth, Lands of the Company and of the government, how far distinct.

Ninth, The respective governments, how far independent.

Tenth, Whether peace or war with the Prince, should be left to future deliberation, but in either case, the present agreement to remain inviolable.

29 Sept. Meer Cossim set out for Moorsheda-  
bad, the 29th of September; and the  
President and Col. Caillaud, the 2d  
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Year. to Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Letter of  
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1760. Resolution to regulate the govern-  
ment according to the plan proposed  
— full powers given to the President  
and Col. Caillaud, to act according  
to their own discretion, in all circum-  
stances that may occur in this business.

14 Oct. They reached Cossimbazar the 14th  
of October.—The President's repre-  
sentation to the Nabob of the dan-  
gers that threatened the provinces on  
every side, and of the evil administra- V.  
tion of those, to whom he had intrust-  
ed the management. — Mr. Amyatt's  
account of the insurrection at Patna.

The Nabob's own opinion of the W.Y,c.  
hazardous state of his affairs ; W, a.

But is too much sunk in indolence, Y, Y,c.  
to attempt to apply any remedy to the  
evils.

The President resolved not to ex-  
pose Cossim to the resentment of his  
father-in-law, nor to let the old Na-  
bob himself sink under the weight of  
his disordered government, nor to see  
the English Army at Patna ruined for  
want of pay, nor to expose the pro-  
vinces to the ravages of the Shahzada  
and his followers, nor tamely to ac-  
quiesce in the impending destruction  
of the Company itself.

He represents to the Nabob the  
miseries of the country, and the da- X.  
mage the Company's affairs had re-  
ceived, from the management of his  
ministers.

Some of the grievances were stated Y. Y,a.  
to him by Letters I. II. III. Y,b.

The Nabob confesses himself une-  
qual to the charge of the government  
—his



Year. — his opinion of his son-in-law. Letter of  
 X. I. K. L. reference.

1760. The Nabob will take no resolution  
 or steps to restore his affairs—returns  
 into consultation with his old advisers  
 Keeniram, Monilaul and Checon. —  
 Character of those ministers — deter- Y, Y, a.  
 mination formed to remove them, and Y, c.  
 place his son-in-law in their stead — D, r.  
 measures taken for that purpose.

19 Oct. The Gentoo feast on the 19th —  
 the long and fatiguing ceremonies  
 which are observed by the Gentoos—  
 the occasion favourable to the present  
 undertaking — Col. Caillaud and six  
 companies of Seapoys cross the river  
 by day break. — Account of the whole X.  
 transaction—seizure of the persons of  
 the Nabob's ministers — conference  
 with the Nabob. — He resigns the  
 government to his son-in-law—his re-  
 signation not expected nor designed.

22 Oct. This revolution happened without  
 any riot or disturbance, or loss of any  
 one life. — Jaffer Aly, by his own  
 choice, goes to reside with the English  
 at Calcutta.

The great and immediate advan- X.  
 tages accruing to the Company from  
 this step, so necessary and so happily  
 executed.

Grants for making over to the  
 Company the countries of Burdwan,  
 Midnapoor and Chittagong, a territo-  
 ry very valuable in the possession, and  
 lying convenient for protection.

Public credit restored—money sent  
 to pay the troops at Patna—an assist- A, 1, b.  
 ance for the treasury at Calcutta—  
 aid for Madras, and for forwarding  
 the reduction of Pondicherry.

Payment

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- Year. Payment of the balances due to the Letter of  
English from the old Nabob. reference.
1760. I, II, III, addressees to the Nabob  
Jaffier, which were before-men- Y,a.Y,b,  
tioned. Y,c.
- Mr. Ellis was informed, by two A,I,c.  
letters, of the proceedings, and of the A,I,d.  
late revolution.—Mr. Ellis's congra- A,I,e.  
tulations, "Such a revolution, with  
so little disturbance scarce ever hap-  
pened."
- 22 and 23 Mr. Ellis presided at Calcutta  
Oct. during Mr. Van Sittart's absence.
- Major Carnac arrived with Mr.  
Ellis from England, came to the Pre-  
sident at Moradbaug, the 20th in the  
20 Oct. morning — assisted Col. Caillaud in  
preventing any disturbance in the  
city — proceeded afterwards with the  
Col. to Patna, in order to receive  
from him there the command of the  
troops.
- Col. Caillaud ordered to join the  
army at Pondicherry.
- Major Carnac remained with the  
governor at Moradbaug, till the Ma-  
jor went to Patna, and Mr. Van  
Sittart returned to Calcutta.
- Major Yorke staid at Moorshedabad  
with the party under his command.
- 22 Oct. The old Nabob departs for Cal- Z.  
cutta — takes his leave with much  
chearfulness.
- State of the old Nabob's treasury. A,I.  
Coffin Aly applies himself vigo-  
rously to the regulation of affairs.
- System of prudence and oeconomy.
- Mr. Ellis applies for the chiefship  
of Patna, to which Mr. M'Guire had  
been appointed two months before.
- 7 Nov. The President arrived in Calcutta  
— the

Year. —the next day he reported his pro- Letter of  
ceedings in general, and the advan- reference.  
tages acquired for the Company —  
1760. present the *whole Council*.

Distinction between the *Council*, and  
the select or *secret Committee*.

Minute of the 8th of November, B, 1.  
from Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smyth,  
who were of the *Council*, and not of the  
*select Committee*.

They observe, that the proceedings  
of the *secret Committee*, were not made  
known to the *whole Council*, before  
they were carried into execution, and  
express themselves, "dissatisfied at  
being made cyphers of, in so critical a  
concern."

Reply—that the transaction is now  
ordered to be laid before the *board*, C, 1.  
and the reason why the whole Coun-  
cil were not acquainted with it before  
was, because it was an affair that  
required *Secrecy*: and to that was  
owing the speedy and easy success,  
which attended the execution of it.  
It is with such intent that the Court  
of Directors have appointed a select  
committee.

10 Nov. Mr. Van Sittart's memorial, con- D, 1.  
taining proofs, that affairs were at an  
extremity no longer to be neglected,  
without manifest danger of having  
the province over-run, and the trade  
intirely ruined.—Some measures must  
have been taken—necessity required  
them—the safest, most justifiable, and Y. A, 1,  
most expeditious were chosen—suc- c.  
cess attended them.

1761. Disgust taken by several members  
of the *Council*.

H. H, 2. Mr. Amyatt, chief of Patna, had  
been informed from time to time of  
the



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Year. the proceedings — on which he gave Letter of  
no particular opinion, contenting reference.  
1761. himself with representing the difficulties and dangers which he was him- W, a.  
self engaged in.

The first declaration of Mr. Amy-  
att's disapprobation of the proceed-  
ings of the select Committee, and of  
8 Jan. a change in Mr. Ellis's sentiments,  
appears in a minute which they en-  
tered upon the consultations on the  
8th of January, to which Mr. Smyth  
assented.

They observe, " First, that the  
" reasons alledged are not sufficient  
" to convict Jaffier Aly Cawn of E, 1.  
" breach of faith.

" Secondly, The cruelties he has  
" been guilty of, may seem shocking  
" to a civilized government, but are  
" common in despotic states — the  
" present Nabob has already fallen  
" into the like severities.

" Thirdly, The advantages to be  
" derived to the Company from the  
" ceded provinces, will all prove  
" imaginary."

12 Jan. The gentlemen of the council who  
did, and still do approve of the late  
transactions with the country govern- F, 1.  
ment. Reply,

I. That there were reasons enough  
to justify, or rather to urge the select  
Committee, when deliberating on the D.  
state of affairs in August last, to have  
broken off all measures with Jaffier—  
besides the instances then mentioned  
of his perfidy, the letter of the Dutch  
Directore, which may be seen by those  
who will take the pains to examine it,  
is a full proof of his breach of faith.  
—Cossim Aly was his nearest relation  
b ---whose

- Year. — whose views were in reversion. Letter of  
 II. They do not look upon assassi- reference.  
 1761. nation and murders, with such indif-  
 ference as is expressed in Mr. Amy- F, 1.  
 att's minute, nor could they so easily  
 12 Jan. excuse a crime so shocking. The  
 pretended sufferers, the son of Sirse-  
 rauz Cawn, and the widow of Aliverdy  
 Cawn, instead of having been the  
 objects of the Nabob Cossim's vio-  
 lence, live, and are obliged to his  
 benevolence for a handsome main-  
 tenance allowed them.
- III. As to the advantages acquired  
 to the Company, which are all un-  
 dervalued, because *some* have not yet  
 been collected---the shortness of the  
 time has prevented the receipt of se-  
 veral payments which are settled;  
 that for Burdwan became due this  
 day---the country is in our own pos-  
 session---the prospect is fair, and the  
 present benefits are worth mention-  
 ing; as,
1. The payment of the arrears due  
 to the English troops.
  2. The assistance to the Company  
 of five lacks.
  3. Leave granted for coining Moor-  
 shedabad siccas.
  4. Seven or eight lacks paid to the  
 Nabob's troops.
  5. The troops satisfied, and actu-  
 ally in the field, and the enemy de-  
 feated, which, without such payment,  
 could not have happened. There is  
 no room for blame, whether the *event*  
 be considered, or the *deliberations*  
 that preceded it. The select Com-  
 mittee gave all possible attention to  
 the situation of the Company at  
 home, and of their affairs in general;  
 and

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- Year. and their necessities and dangers appeared so striking, that there was not a doubt but that the measures undertaken should be pursued even with *risk*, which are now found fault with, though justified upon principle, and crowned with *success*. Letter of reference.
- 1761.
- 16 Jan. Mr. Ellis's minute—his sentiments have never altered. G, 1.
- 9 Feb. to Instructions sent from time to time to Major Carnac, to assist the Nabob in collecting his revenues from the great men of the country—their readiness to make use of the English protection, to screen them from examination of their accounts, when in arrear to the government. This is a fact well known. G, 1. to K, 1.
- April. Major Carnac's answers.
- He accuses the Nabob of want of courage. L, 1. to N, 1.
- Disagreement between the Nabob and the Major.
- 22 Apr. Col. Coote set out to take the command of the army.
- 8 May. Letter from Major Carnac, desiring leave to come to Calcutta in his way to England.
- Determines afterwards to remain at Patna.
- April to Evasions and perfidy of Ramnarain — will come to no account with the Nabob for four months together — will not explain himself — was three years in arrear to the government — is deputy governor (Naib) of the Patna province—supported in his disobedience — heavy complaints of the Nabob against the Colonel and Major. N, 1. to G, 2.
- Aug.
- 16 June. A remarkable occurrence in the Nabob's army. S, 1, e. S, 1, g.



- Year. The Colonel, very early in the Letter of morning, with horsemen and Seapoys reference.  
 1761. entered the Nabob's encampment—  
 marched through the tents with a S, 1, h.  
 cocked pistol in each hand. S, 1, k.  
 The Colonel's own account of the V, 1.  
 affair, in which he denies the pistols V, 1, a.  
 were cocked.

## The Governor's Minute.

- 26 June. Particular directions, the 17th of I, 1.  
 May, that Ramnarain should be re-  
 garded as the deputy of the govern-  
 ment of Moorshedabad—that he  
 should give the Nabob a faithful ac-  
 count of his outstanding balances, and  
 20 July. that the Nabob should send his own  
 people to collect them. F, 2.  
 21 June. Major Carnac's transactions on his  
 march with the Shah. I, 2. K, 2.  
 Z, 1. A, 2.  
 Orders of the India Company, and Y, 1. X, 1.  
 the established custom, that no dissent  
 to any letter from the board, should  
 be signed on the face of the letter it-  
 self—prudence and policy of that or-  
 der—transgressions of it. H, 2.  
 Correspondence with the Princes of  
 the country government to be car-  
 ried on in the name of the President.  
 Maxims of the Mogul empire.  
 Sept. The Colonel and the Major recal-  
 led to Calcutta.  
 A great change happens in the  
 Council, in consequence of Letters  
 from Europe.  
 Mr. Ellis advanced to the chieftship  
 of Patna.  
 22 Sep. Instructions to Mr. Ellis, princi- L, 2.  
 pally to follow the cautions received  
 from the Court of Directors—*not to*  
*protect the servants of the Nabob against*  
*their master.*—And by no means to  
 interfere in any of the affairs of the  
 country

# CONTENTS.

xxi

- Year. country government, or the people Letter of  
belonging to it. reference.
1761. Mr. Ellis arrived at Patna about  
the middle of November---his preju-  
dices and violence of temper --- sends  
to Capt. Carstairs an order to seize  
and imprison an officer of the govern-  
ment, named Munseram---the Nabob  
1762. was then about forty miles off---Capt. M, 2.  
Jan. Carstairs hesitates to execute the  
order.
- 22 Jan. Letter from the Nabob to } Contrast N, 2.  
Mr. Ellis. } between  
4 Feb. Letter from Mr. Ellis to } them. O, 2.  
the Nabob. }
- The person mentioned in Mr.  
Ellis's letter to have been sent a pri-  
soner to Calcutta, was an officer of  
the Nabob's---his name was Coja  
Antoon---he had been accused of pur-  
chasing five maunds of salt-petre: to  
answer for this crime, he was sent 900  
miles, and after a confinement of  
three months, was delivered over to  
farther punishment. Another charge  
against this person was, that he had  
given a certificate of some goods  
having been duly paid, which was a  
contempt of the Company's duttuck.  
Distinction between the trade of the  
10 Feb. *Company*, and the concerns of private  
merchants---every struggle made by  
the country people against the oppres-  
sions and extortions of the *private*  
*English Gomastahs trade*, was imme-  
diately construed as an attack upon  
the *Company's* rights.
- Feb. Letters of the Nabob's received in  
February. P, 2. Q, 2.
- 4 Feb. Information (which proved to be  
false) given to Mr. Ellis, that two  
deserters had taken shelter in the fort

Year. of Mongheer, then governed by Shu- Letter of  
 ~~~~~ jan Sing, as Deputy (Naib) to Coja reference.  
 Gregore. Mr. Ellis applied to Ra- ~~~~~  
 1762. jebullub, the Naib of Patna, for an R, 2.  
 order to deliver up the deserters, and S, 2. T, 2.  
 contenting himself with a verbal re- A, 3.  
 ply of the messengers, immediately  
 sent a company of Seapoys to search  
 the fort, and take the deserters. A, 3, c.

The Seapoys appear before the fort d. c.  
 ---Shujan Sing carried two of them  
 into the fort, and shewed them every  
 22 Feb. place about it---no deserters were to  
 be found, in fact there were none.---  
 Mr. Ellis still insisted that he would  
 not recall his forces, till two serjeants  
 should have been admitted to search  
 the fort. Loose as is the country  
 discipline, Shujan Sing apprehended  
 it to be his duty, neither to admit the  
 party into the fort nor the serjeants---  
 his refusal. This was termed the  
 highest excess of insolence in Shujan  
 Sing---the party remained for three  
 months---mutual complaints on this  
 subject.

Whilst this affair depended, ano- V, 2.  
 ther dispute arose.---Mr. Ellis stations W, 2.  
 Seapoys.

37 Apr. At length the Nabob admits Lieut.  
 Ironside, two Seapoys and a serjeant  
 ---they search the fort. A, 3. c.  
 These, and such like disputes, take X, 2. Y. 2  
 up the greatest part of the correspon- A, 3, c.  
 dence between the President and  
 Council, and the Nabob.

The President was in continual ap-  
 prehension, that the most desperate  
 measures would take place---makes it  
 his study, by moderation, to abate  
 the violent spirit which prevailed---  
 forbears



**Year.** forbears to make any remarks on the Letter of  
steps which had been taken by Mr. reference.  
**1762.** Ellis, and could not then be prevented

---endeavours to keep things quiet upon the footing they were, until he could agree with the Nabob upon some method of removing the occasion which had been taken to set these disputes on foot. Whatever confidence the Nabob might have in the moderation of the President, yet, as several of the Nabob's letters testify, he knew that he depended on the will of many, and some of those, his irreconcilable enemies. Those who were disaffected about his person, seized the opportunity of attempting his life, and oversetting his government---the conspiracy was carried on by Seetaram Dewan and others.---As soon as the Nabob had full proofs of the transaction, he summoned Seetaram into his presence, and charged him with his crime before several hundreds of people, and appealed to the assembly for their sentence on him, who adjudged him, and the rest of the conspirators, guilty of death.

C, 3, h.

A, 3, f.

Some letters transmitted by Mr. Batson to the board---evident marks of forgery in them.---Agreed to carry on an enquiry with the greatest secrecy---which produced a further detection of their forgery. --- Things

W, 4, a, \*

**March.** could not long continue upon the point to which they were brought.

The President judges, that the best way to put an end to the dissensions and jealousies, would be to send a person, in whom the Nabob had great confidence, to assure him there was no intention of breaking with him,

Year. him, and to advise him to forget Letter of  
what had passed. reference.

1762. Mr. Hastings deputed for this pur-  
15 Mar. pose—his instructions.

B, 3.

B, 3, a.

Motion made by Mr. Amyatt, to ingraft on these instructions to Mr. Hastings, a demand to be made on the Nabob for twenty lacks of rupees\*, which he had formerly, after his accession, offered to the Governor and the members of the select Committee, and which they had refused.—The paper or bond, containing the offer of this sum, was returned to the Nabob by the President, the moment he knew the contents of it.—The gentlemen of the select Committee, intirely approved of the President's refusal of the offer; it is now moved, that the money should be demanded of the Nabob, "And in case he refuses payment on account of the bond's being returned, that he should be made to understand, that it was returned without proper authority." For the arguments on each side, see

B, 3, c.

B, 3, a, c.

Upon this occasion, and some others, a motion was made for calling Major Carnac to the board — The Company's instructions in their 64th paragraph, of the 13th of March, 1761, giving him a place at the Board, and in the select Committee, in affairs where *military matters* are under debate.

B, 3, b.

D, 4, a.

The majority of the board agree, that the demand should be made on the Nabob.

\* A lack of rupees is about 12,500l.

Mr.

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- Year. Mr. Hastings set out on this com- Letter of  
mission, and arrived at Patna the 2d reference.  
1762. of May—his conversation with the  
9 April. Nabob, who expressed much dissatis-  
2 May. faction that he should be charged with  
entertaining a jealousy of the English  
13 May. —and defies him to mention one in-  
stance of his having betrayed a want  
of confidence in the Company, or  
deviated from the treaty with them. C, 3, f.  
“It is true, he added, he had frequent  
subject of complaint against the En-  
glish dependents, but that made no  
alteration in his engagements with  
their principals:” he desired that any  
of his people might be named, who  
were suspected of having created dif-  
ferences between him and the En-  
glish, and declared, if they were found  
guilty, he would put them to death;  
at the same time, he spoke very warm-  
ly of the acts of violence committed  
on his servants by Mr. Ellis.  
The Nabob’s answer to the demand C, 3.  
of twenty lacks.  
13 May. The Nabob was well acquainted C, 3, f.  
with the power of the board, and the  
constitution of the Company’s govern-  
ment in India.  
Arrival of the Company’s general  
letter to Bengal, dated 19th June, 61.  
Containing,  
April. Expressions of the highest satisfac- D, 3,  
tion, “In this happy event.” Speak-  
ing of the revolution in 1760.  
May. Another letter arrived of a subse- D, 3, a.  
quent date, 30th of Sept. 1761, in  
which they speak of the measures  
taken as unavoidable.  
July. Disputes still continue between the F, 3.  
Nabob and Mr. Ellis—ill effects re-  
sulting from them—endeavours to pre-  
vent



Year. vent them. — A principal matter of Letter of  
 contention is, reference.

The private trade.

1762.

July.

Which is the inland trade, carried G, 3.  
 on by private persons, on their own  
 credit and bottom, in commodities  
 produced in the country, and again  
 sold in the same country. — The East  
 India Company, a collective body of  
 foreign merchants incorporated — pro-  
 cure from the Mogul at a great  
 price, by their agents, a freedom from A.  
 duties (except at the port of Surat)  
 for all goods belonging to the col-  
 lective body.

They did not lay out the money of  
 the community for the benefit of  
*private* merchants, but for the benefit  
 of the Company.

The private trade consists of goods  
 not fit for exportation, but which are R, 3.  
 again sold in the country; or it con-  
 sists of articles which *are funds appro-*  
*priated*, and paid into the exchequer  
 of the country government.

The Company never impowered  
 their servants to deal in this trade,  
 though they sometimes over-looked it,  
 unless when attended with incon-  
 veniencies to themselves; upon such A, 4.  
 occasions, from time to time they  
 issued orders forbidding it.

As the Company never dealt in  
 these branches of commerce for them-  
 selves, their distrust was never grant-  
 ed to pass them free of duties, nor of G, 3.  
 course could it with justice be given;  
 and when their servants or agents  
 dealt in this trade, they did not deal  
 as *agents* of the Company, but as  
*private* merchants transacting their  
 own concerns.

D, 4, a.

If

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Year. If the Company's *dustuck* did not go Letter of  
with such goods, of consequence the reference.  
goods were liable to all duties usually  
1762. paid by private traders, or the natives  
themselves.

July. It never could be intended by the I, 3.  
Mogul King, that *private foreign* mer-  
chants should be upon a better footing  
than *private native* merchants.

If any set of private foreign mer-  
chants could deal in all goods produ-  
ced in the country, and sold in any  
part of the same country, free from  
all duties (while at the same time all H, 3.  
duties were paid by the natives) the  
foreigners must in consequence keep  
the whole trade to themselves, and  
the government of the country must  
also lose the whole of the duties.

Or if the *dustucks* were forged, or  
if they were bartered or sold to the H, 3, a.  
natives, the same loss of all duties  
would be felt by the government.

By the trade in goods *imported* or  
*exported*, the country government are  
gainers, and so is the Company; —  
by the *private inland* trade carried on  
by foreigners, the country govern- L, 3, a.  
ment are in every instance losers, and  
the English Company can get nothing  
by it.

This trade, unless it be quite a-  
bolished, or wisely regulated, must be  
the source of continual disputes.

It never can be settled, unless the  
boundaries of the Company's jurisd- G, 3, L,  
iction, and the country government's D, 4, a.  
authority, be fixed.

If the Company could set up a title  
to, and could actually take possession  
of the whole province of Bengal, they  
could not garrison or protect it.

If

|               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                 |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Year.         | If they do not take possession of the whole province, and the government cannot have the fruits of its duties and revenues, there will still be perpetual sources of dispute.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Letter of reference.<br>K, 3.<br>G, 3:          |
| 1762.         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                 |
| July.         | Nor can any <i>Mogul</i> or <i>Nabob</i> , or the subjects of either, be contented with the residence of such guests; and the whole continent, for their own interests, will be ready to join against them.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                 |
| March to June | Debates upon the subject of trade — the nature and extent of it — the power of our factors ( <i>gomastahs</i> ) and their right of using force in their own concerns, with matters of a similar kind, are inserted at large.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | B, 3. R, 3.<br>* (a).<br>F, 3. to<br>F, 5.      |
|               | Variety of opinions — agreement in one, that redress was greatly wanted; for,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                 |
|               | Private factors ( <i>gomastahs</i> ) set themselves up for judges of causes, particularly where their own interests were concerned, or that of their masters; beating and binding officers of considerable station in the country government — soldiers and <i>Seapoys</i> attending their orders — they forcibly took away goods, they dealt in all merchandize, fixed their own prices, extorted payment, hoisted English colours, forged passes, would give no account of themselves — shops were shut up — villages abandoned — and nothing was heard of but outcries on the one hand, against the tyranny and oppressions of the English and their <i>gomastahs</i> ; and on the other, against the insolence and encroachments of the <i>Nabob</i> and his officers. | G, 3.<br>L, 3.<br>M, 3. to<br>M, 3, h.<br>R, 3. |
| June          | The <i>Nabob</i> came to <i>Mongheer</i> — <i>Mr. Hastings</i> returned to <i>Calcutta</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                 |
|               | Dan-                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                 |



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- Year. Dangerous illness of the governor Letter of  
 for two months — during this time reference.  
 1762. grievances were encreased, and a  
 great number of complaints made.  
 It is agreed, that the governor, at-  
 tended by Mr. Hastings, should pay a  
 visit to the Nabob, and regulate af-  
 fairs with him.
- 20 Oct. They set out from Calcutta, and  
 arrived the 3d of November at Moor-  
 shedabad.
- 9 Nov. Letter from the Governor to the N, 3.  
 Council.
- 15 Nov. The board having received accounts P, 3.  
 of duties on private inland trade, send  
 them to the governor, "*That they*  
*" may be of service to him, in finally*  
*" settling these matters upon a solid*  
*" plan."*
- 30 Nov. Accordingly, on his arrival at Mon-  
 gheer (the 30th) he had frequent  
 conversation with the Nabob, and  
 made inquiries of every kind, jointly R, 3.  
 with Mr. Hastings, that he might,  
 before his return, settle matters finally  
 upon a solid plan.
- The joint letter of the President R, 3.  
 and Mr. Hastings to the board, con-  
 taining the plan of the regulations to  
 prevent the many complaints, and the  
 abuses of the private trade—this plan S, 3.  
 corresponds, in a great measure, with  
 that of the 18th of May, 1762. I, 3.
- The articles of the intended agree-  
 ment.
- 15 Dec. I. For the Company's *imports* and  
*exports*, the Company's *duttuck* (pass)  
 shall be granted — respect to be paid S, 3.  
 to it.
- II. For the *private trade*, the pass  
 of the government shall be given.
- III.

Year. III. At the time of taking out the Letter of  
 1762. last-mentioned pass, the duties shall reference.  
 be paid according to the rates which  
 shall be annexed to this agreement.

Decem. IV. The duties shall be paid *once*  
*for all*, so that there shall be no de-  
 lays on the road, or at the place of  
 sale.

V. If any frauds shall be commit-  
 ted, notice shall be immediately sent  
 to the nearest English factory, and to  
 the nearest officer of the government.

VI. If any person attempts to pass  
 goods, without a duffuck for inland  
 trade—seizure—and notice be given  
 to the nearest English factory, and to  
 the officer of the government.

VII. Goods without a duffuck at-  
 tempted to be clandestinely passed in  
 company with boats or goods having  
 a duffuck.—

VIII. The gomastahs (factors) in  
 every place, shall carry on their trade  
 freely, and as merchants.—In case of  
 any dispute on either side, application  
 shall be made to the officer of the  
 government, and justice shall be done.

IX. If the gomastah thinks himself  
 aggrieved, he shall complain to his  
 principal, and his principal, according  
 to custom, shall appeal to the *presi-*  
*dency*, and redress shall be obtained.

The rates (mentioned in article III.)  
 were fixed at nine *per cent.* which was  
 less than had been paid by the En-  
 glish themselves at Luckypoor, in  
 their private trade, as appears from  
 the extract of the letter sent by the  
 board to the President, when they gave  
 him directions finally to settle these  
 matters upon a solid plan, (the 15th  
 of November, 62, P, 3.) and it was  
 much

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- Year. much less than was usually paid by Letter of  
other merchants in their private trade; reference.  
besides that, the inconvenience was
1762. avoided of making a diversity of pay- X, 3.  
ments, which other merchants were  
subject to. The President, therefore,  
Dec. thought he was doing a great service  
to the English merchants, by esta-  
blishing a right to a trade, which had  
always before been disputed, and he  
knew that the profits on that trade  
would bear such a charge, without the  
least cause of complaint. The Na-  
bob having set on foot an expedition  
against Betea and Napaul, which he  
intended to command in person,  
waited only the President's taking leave  
of him, to set out. In order therefore  
to bring the business to a conclusion,  
he summed up all his complaints and  
26 Dec. proposals in a letter, the 26th of Dec. S, 3.  
and the President immediately wrote  
him an answer, assuring him, that the  
regulations agreed on should be esta-  
blished, and that orders should be  
sent in consequence, to all the subor-  
dinate factories. At the same time,  
the President desired, that the Nabob  
would give him orders to all his offi-  
cers, directing them to act in confor-  
mity to these regulations, which or-  
ders should be forwarded with the  
President's from Calcutta. An exact  
translation of the Nabob's Letter, Compare  
T, 3.—An exact translation of the B, 4.  
Governor's answer, T, 3, a.
1763. The day after the delivery of this T, 3, a.  
letter to the Nabob, the President took  
his leave of him and proceeded to Pat-  
na, where he arrived the 1st of Janu-  
Jan. 1. ary; there he conferred with Mr. El-  
lis, and found that his animosity to  
the



Year. the Nabob had taken root too deep to Letter of  
be moved, and saw but little hopes of reference.  
1763. the possibility of a reconciliation.

7 Jan. He stayed five days at Patna, during which time the Nabob's Deputy laid before him some complaints, and requested his directions to prevent disputes in future. The President settled most of these points with Mr. Ellis.—What they principally differed about was. The Burbunna gate of the city, and the gunge or market. The Burbunna gate was a small wicket in

5 Jan. the north-west quarter of the city of Patna. The gunge was a market set up without any right, grant, or order, either from the Company, or the Nabob, an authority such as no private persons can be allowed; and it proved a continual cause of contest with the country government for the advantage of particulars. U, 3.

14 Jan. The President arrived at Cossimbazar in his way to Calcutta—On the road he received a letter from the Council, dated 27th of December, being an answer to his own, and Mr. Hastings's joint letter of the 15th of December. If that letter could have been fortunately received in time, yet the proposal there-mentioned, of leaving Mr. Hastings with the Nabob, could have been of no use, as the Nabob at that time would have been setting out on the expedition against the kingdom of Napál. The Nabob's whole military force at this period of time was sixteen thousand horse, and three battalions of Seapoys: at the time of his accession to the subaship, his army, as it stood on the books of the government, W, 3.

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- Year. ment, was upwards of ninety thousand Letter of  
men. reference.
1763. Governor's letter to the Council--- X; 3.
- 15 Jan. Mahomed Aly---high duties paid by  
the Patna and others of the country  
merchants.
- 16 Jan. The President set out in haste the  
16th of January from Cossimbazar,  
upon the news of the French ships in  
Ballasore road, and arrived in Cal-  
cutta the 18th.
- 18 Jan. In the mean time, the Nabob had  
hastily dispatched copies of the Presi-  
dent's Letter, into all parts of the  
country, with general orders for their  
observance, without waiting for the  
President's arrival at Calcutta, from  
whence it had been agreed the Na-  
bob's Letters, by him delivered to the  
President, should have been forward-  
ed together with circular letters from  
the Board to the factories. One of  
these copies being delivered by the  
Nabob's officer at Dacca, to the chief  
of the Factory there, was by him im- A, 4.  
mediately sent to the Board, with the  
addition of a letter filled with aggra-  
vated complaints of the encroach- Y, 3.  
ments upon what was called, *our pri-  
vileges*. The President's letter, which D, 4, a.  
contained the regulations, was trans-  
lated into English with a pedantic B, 4.  
singularity of stile, and an affected  
exaggeration of such passages, as were  
called by the Board, an attack upon  
their rights. Major Carnac was de-  
sired to assist at the Board, that he  
might contribute his censure upon the  
President's regulations; and a reso- D, 4, a.  
lution was taken to call down all the  
members of the Board, from the sub-  
ordinate factories to the Presidency.

- Year. Copy of a letter from Mr. Cartier Letter of  
to the Council, (9th of January) ex- reference.  
1763. plaining the intention of his letter to  
the Nabob's collector at Dacca; Y, 3.  
January. which the President had mentioned to  
the Council, Dec. 15, (Q, 3.) with  
a desire that they should prevent the  
ill consequences that would result  
from such liberties, assumed by pri-  
vate persons, to threaten the Nabob's  
officers with the effects of the English  
power; the Company having expressly  
forbid letters to be written to the  
country government by any person  
excepting the President, or with his  
approbation; and the Company's de-  
sign is to keep up the authority of  
their own government.  
Relative to the same subject, from Z, 3.  
Mess. Hay and Johnstone.  
Copy of the Governor's minute.  
1 Feb. In which he answers the objections D, 4, a.  
to the regulations, and takes little  
notice of the indecent invectives a-  
gainst himself.  
Feb. Though the President had reason to  
be offended at the Nabob's haste and  
want of thought, and at the ill-  
judged power which he had so sudden-  
ly put into the hands of his officers  
before the President's arrival in Cal-  
cutta, to send circular letters from  
the Board; yet he used every argu-  
ment, in all his letters to the Nabob,  
that might remove the alarm given  
him by the extraordinary appearances  
in Calcutta, and to persuade him to  
avoid furnishing, by any act of resent-  
ment, an occasion for open hostilities  
against him. Unhappily, the jea-  
lousies had arisen to so great a height,  
that such palliatives had no longer  
their



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Year. their effect, and from this period, the Letter of  
President had not only to contend reference.  
with the violence of the gentlemen  
1763. who had now the rule of our affairs,  
Feb. but the unconquerable distrust of the  
Nabob.

Accordingly the remaining extracts from the consultations, will shew the steps by which the breach was widened, and a daily increase of authority thrown into the hands of the subordinate factories; until at length Mr. Ellis thought himself at liberty to begin the war, by the attack of the city of Patna, which was surprised and taken, without resistance, by our troops, (in the night of the 24th of June, 1763) and, by the disorderly behaviour of the troops engaged in the plunder of the place, was retaken by a small detachment of the Nabob's people the next morning.

In the mean time our subordinate factories had daily opportunity of making fresh complaints to the Board, of the interruptions of their business, which was always done with such exaggerations, as served to increase the flame.

It was pretended, that our weavers could not be protected, because the President had forbid protecting the dependents of the country government. The dependents of the country government, are plainly those who hold offices, trusts, or rents under the government, and there is an established distinction between *them* and the *weavers*, who are regarded as dependents of the merchants that employ them; and this is a distinction well known

and this is a distinction well known

Year. to all but those, who through passion will not know it. Letter of reference,

1763. As the officers of the country government began now to take advantage of our dissensions, and the Board had resolved not to confirm the regulations proposed in the Governor's letter, he wrote to the Nabob, that other regulations would soon be made by the Council, and desired he would send orders to his officers, to restrain them from exercising any acts of violence or injustice, towards the English agents and gomastahs. D, 4, a.

Feb. Mr. Amyatt's minute, and the answer to it. E, 4.

15 Feb. The general Council assembled the 15th of February. It consisted of the following members, the President, Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Batson (chief of Cossimbazar) Mr. Billers (chief of Luckypoor) Mr. Cartier (chief of Dacca) Mr. Hastings, Mr. Johnstone (chief of Burdwan) Mr. Hay, Mr. Marriott, and Mr. Watts. Their business, or at least their first business, was to settle a plan for carrying on their private trade: the Council was opened by a motion from Mr. Amyatt, that Major Carnac should be summoned to sit as a member of this Council. The Major was, by the Company's appointment, to be a member of the Board, when military affairs only were under debate; the President dissented from this motion, and so did Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Watts—but when it was determined that Major Carnac should sit as a member of the Board; the President moved, that Major Adams should sit also, as it was customary upon all occasions to

F, 4.

D, 4.

C, 4.

G, 4.

to

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- Year. to summon *both*, when it was necessary to summon *either*; and the President thought that Major Adams, from his good temper, his mild and unambitious disposition, and his coolness in debate, would at least contribute, upon all occasions, as good assistances to the consultations of the Board, as any other military officer whatever. Letter of reference.
1763. Mr. Amyatt's Minute and the Answer. G, 4. H, 4.
- 15 Feb. The President continues to try every means of preventing the dangerous consequences he apprehended to the Company's affairs from violent measures.—He therefore avoided every word that could inflame. F, 4. G, 4. H, 4.
- He hoped, that the Nabob might be induced to consent to, and rather subject his government to some losses and inconveniencies, than engage in a war, to his *inevitable ruin* and the *Company's great detriment*.
- He therefore gives up, as far as possible, his own opinion to the Board. I, 4.
- Major Carnac claims the command of the detachment stationed at *Patna*; which he had quitted by an order of the Board the 6th of June. I, 4.
- The gunge or market, mentioned in the letter from the Chief and Council at *Patna* to the Board, is considered in F, 2. D, 2.
- 18 Feb. The consultation (Feb. 18) together with, K, 4.
1. The regulations settled with the Nabob by the President.
  2. The Burbunna gate at *Patna*.
  3. The disposition of the troops and major Carnac's letter.
- Consultation (Feb. 22) on the same subject. L, 4.
- Agreed, the several members of the Board



Year. Board should prepare their opinions in Letter of  
writing.—Compare March 1. reference.

1763. Resolved, that we have a right to  
1 Mar. trade in salt, betel-nut, and every M, 4.  
other article of *inland trade* duty free,  
and with the Company's dustuck, e-  
qually with the *foreign* trade.

Agreed, at the same time, that  
something should be paid to the Na-  
bob, in conformity to the usual prac-  
tice, not as the Nabob's right, but as  
an indulgence to him from the Board:  
Therefore there shall be paid on salt  
two and a half per cent.

The Nabob returned from the Na-  
pál expedition, where he had been de-  
feated; his letters (22d and 26th of  
Feb.)

The President's letter to the Nabob,  
explaining the resolutions of the Board,  
written in the usual form of the coun-  
try correspondence; without expres-  
sing on the face of it, any dissents  
there might have been in Council. N, 4.  
N, 4, a.

It is moved, that the letter should  
be written to him by the Board, that  
the Nabob might be informed, that all  
power belonged to them; but this  
was over-ruled, upon proof that he  
knew, and had a long while known,  
7 Mar. that all power did belong to the  
Board.

Disputes were now come to such a  
height, that it was necessary either to  
put an end to them by a peaceable  
negociation, or to declare an open  
war with the Nabob.—It was agreed,  
that one of the members of the Board  
should go on a deputation to the Na-  
bob. Mr. Amyatt offered himself  
for the service, which was unani-  
mously accepted, and, at his own re-  
quest,

N, 4, b.

Year. quest, Mr. Hay was afterwards joined with him in the same commission. Letter of reference.

5 March Letters from the Nabob (5th of March 1763) in which he describes the state of his country, and his approaching ruin. O, 4, a. O, 4, b.

April. From Dacca advices arrived of a fray between the officers of the government and a party of Seapoys, that were sent to release some boats that had been stopped at Jaffier gunge, in which the brother of the *Chokydar* (Collector of the customs) was slain or dangerously wounded. The same day a letter came from the gentlemen at Patna with intelligence, that they had sent an officer with three companies of Seapoys to *Mow*, to free the business of the Factory, and to seize some persons who had given them interruptions. This the officer effected, taking Ashbur Cawn, the Nabob's Collector, prisoner, whom he carried to Patna, and left a guard of 12 Seapoys at Taajepoor, to take care of the Company's salt-petre.—The Nabob incensed at this attempt, made almost before his eyes, in the first impulse of his passion, sent out a party of 500 horse to intercept the Seapoys and release his officer, but arriving too late for this service, they marched against the small detachment at Taajepoor and attacked it. The Seapoys defended themselves with great bravery, but four of the number being killed, the rest submitted, and were carried prisoners before the Nabob, who contented himself with reprimanding the Gomastah for being the instrument of such an insult on his dignity, and dismissed

Year. missed him.—The Nabob's behaviour upon this occasion shews how much he was irritated, and at the same time how careful he was, even upon the greatest provocation, to avoid coming to extremities.—Mr. Ellis was credulous enough to believe upon this occasion, that the Nabob was resolved to march from Pounerac, where he then lay encamped, and to attack the Factory, as appears by the Patna letter (15th of March)—but the Nabob proceeded directly to Mongheer, and put an end to these suspicions of him.

Letter of  
reference.

1763.

March

O, 4, e.

Day after day fresh disturbances happened, which scarcely need to be marked out particularly, as they are no more than might naturally be expected, in a kingdom where there subsisted two distinct governments, each issuing out orders oftentimes contradictory, and each requiring obedience.

P, 4.

It may be proper, however, to mention one occurrence, as it was the subject of great debate in the Council.—In the President's letter to the Board (S, 3.) he mentions, that in the course of the conferences with the Nabob, upon the subject of the duties the Nabob observed, that if the English Gomastahs were permitted to trade in all parts and all commodities custom free, his customs would be of so little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open; and collect no customs upon any kind of merchandize; which would draw a number of merchants into his country; and at the same time "it would effectually, he added, cut off the principal subject of the dis-

" putes



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iii

- Year. " putes which had disturbed the good Letter of  
 " understanding between us."—This reference.  
 1763. design he now actually put into execu-  
 tion.
- 28 Mar. A personal aspersion and the answer. Q, 4.  
 30 Mar. Two letters from the Nabob, com- Q, 4, a.  
 plaining of the injuries done him by R, 4.  
 the Board, and the insults to which  
 he was daily exposed, in very warm  
 and expressive terms.  
 Skirmish near Gyah—Patna letter 23<sup>d</sup> R, 4, a.  
 of March.  
 Consultation April 1, 1763.  
 Observations on the Nabob's let-  
 ters. T, 4.  
 Agreed, that Mess. Amyatt and  
 Hay, should proceed as far as Cossim-  
 bazar.
- 28 Mar. Instructions to Mess. Amyatt and U, 4.  
 Hay.  
 Insolent letter of Mahomed Aly, to W, 4.  
 Syed-Cawn.  
 Report that the Nabob had ordered  
 all the mulberry-trees, and cotton-  
 shrubs to be destroyed — it gains cre-  
 dit for some time. W, 4, a.  
 Plan for the operations of the war. X, 4.
- 14 Apr. Proposed, that Mr. Ellis, and the  
 gentlemen of Patna, should begin the  
 war upon the bare appearance of hos-  
 tile intention in the Nabob.
- 18 Apr. Letter received from Mr. Ellis and Y, 4.  
 his council—their Contempt of the  
 Nabob and his forces.
- 20 Apr. Personal aspersion and reply. Z, 4.  
 Mess. Amyatt and Hay proceed on A, 5.  
 their deputation.  
 Nabob's letter, 2<sup>d</sup> of April.  
 Consultation, 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 63.  
 Copy of a letter from the Nabob to C, 5.  
 the East India Company, dated the  
 21<sup>st</sup> of April.

From

- Year. From the good sense and temper Letter of  
 1763. apparent in this letter, the President reference.  
 began to flatter himself with the hopes  
 of a reconciliation, especially as the  
 Nabob had always professed a favour-  
 able opinion of Mr. Amyatt; and as,  
 by this time, the report of our forces  
 being on the march, must have lost  
 its credit with the Nabob, and his ob-  
 jections to the visit must vanish of  
 course. The President, therefore,  
 did all he could to improve the fa-  
 vourable opportunity—but it was  
 now too late.
- 9 May Letter from the Chief and Council D, 5.  
 at Patna, who are offended at the  
 orders of the Board—that they do not  
 give sufficient credit to their intelli- O, 4, c.  
 gence, which was oftentimes mista-  
 ken.
- 2 May Letter from the Nabob to the Go- E, 5.  
 vernor, relative to the *Seets*—Bankers.  
 Seizure of Mahomed Aly—he is O, 5.  
 sent prisoner to Calcutta. E, 5.
- 18 May Copy of a letter from Messrs. Amy-  
 att and Hay.  
 Some boats laden with arms for  
 our troops at Patna, stopped by the  
 Nabob's people at Mongheer. G, 5.  
 The first advice of this affair was  
 in a letter from Messrs. Amyatt and  
 Hay (26th of May) which inclosed  
 the Nabob's reply to the demands of I, 5.  
 the Board; and was confirmed by their H, 5.  
 letters of the 29th and 31st of the same  
 month.  
 Detention of the boats—cypher to K, 5.  
 carry on correspondence in case of a  
 rupture.  
 Letters from the Nabob, with com-  
 plaints L, 5. &c.
- General

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|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                      |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Year.   | General Council—its resolutions—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Letter of reference. |
| 1763.   | The Governor being ill, sends his opinion to the Board.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                      |
|         | On the 13th, letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, advising, that the arms were still detained.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | P, 5.                |
|         | —Mr. Ellis orders the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march to Patna the 5th and 6th of June.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | P, 5.                |
| 18 June | Consultation of the 18th of June.—Disposition for the march of the troops.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Q, 5.                |
|         | It was now judged necessary to come to some certain resolution with respect to the government of the country, supposing the removal of Meer Cossim from the Subadary should be the issue of the war—and for reimbursing to the Company the expences of it; and to private merchants, the losses which they may sustain by the ravages of the country; see the | R, 5.                |
| 20 June | Consultation 20th of June.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | U, 5.                |
| 14 June | Letter from Messrs. Amyatt and Hay (14th of June) they send a duplicate of the cypher—a note in cypher.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                      |
|         | The next letter a short glimpse of hope (19th of June.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | X, 5.                |
|         | The Nabob consents to release the boats with arms immediately, and will treat, without persisting in his preliminary demand of removing the troops from Patna—The boats released 22d of June.                                                                                                                                                                 | A, 6.                |
| 22 June | On the 2d of July orders given for the army to march—report that Mr. Amyatt was set out for Patna, and that Mr. Ellis had attacked and taken that city.                                                                                                                                                                                                       | A, 6, 2.             |
|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | B, 6.                |
|         | The                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                      |



|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                      |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Year. | The Nabob Meer Jaffier proclaimed the 7th of July 1763.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Letter of reference. |
| 1763. | Whilst the Board were sitting, a letter arrived from Meer Cossim, and confirmed, what had been for some days apprehended, the news of the defeat of our detachment at Patna.— The city had been surprised, and taken without resistance by our troops, in the night of the 24th of June; and, by the disorderly behaviour of the troops engaged in the plunder of the place, was retaken by a small party of the Nabob's people the next morning; after which loss the scattered remains of the army retired across the river, and were then all destroyed or taken prisoners. | E, 6.<br>E, 6, a.    |
| July. | This was followed by a note from the gentlemen of Cossimbazar, dated the night of the 4th of July, with intelligence, that their Factory was surrounded by a numerous force.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | E, 6, a.             |
|       | The President, that there might appear to be no dissensions to impede the vigorous prosecution of the war, consents to sign the proclamation.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | F, 6.                |
|       | Consultation, 6th of July, 1763.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | F, 6, a.             |
|       | Articles the Nabob Meer Jaffier should agree to.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | H, 6, G, 6.          |
|       | On the 11th the treaty was concluded.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | K, 6.                |
|       | Demands made on the part of the Nabob Jaffier.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | L, 6.                |
|       | “ By the superior courage and discipline of our troops, and the admirable conduct and activity of Major Adams, their commander, the war was brought to a conclusion, by the expulsion of Meer Cossim beyond the Carrumnassa, in<br>“ little                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                      |

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- Year. " little more than five months from Letter of  
 " its commencement, with incon- reference.  
 siderable loss, except that of the  
 1763. " unhappy prisoners, who fell into  
 " Meer Cossim's hands at the begin-  
 " ing of the troubles, and were in-  
 " humanly massacred by his orders,  
 " on the 5th of October." M, 6.
- Oct. " The first intimation of such a de-  
 " sign was received in a letter from  
 " Meer Cossim to Major Adams, a  
 " few days after the attack of the in-  
 " trenchments at Oodwa Nulla.  
 " An exact translation of it. Dated  
 Sept. " the 9th of Sept. 1763."  
 Letter from the President to Cossim  
 17 Sept. Aly Cawn, dated the 7th of Sept.  
 Letter from Major Adams, dated N, 6.  
 the 14th of Sept.  
 Strange state of mind of Cossim N, 6, a.  
 Aly—with asseverations and oaths he  
 denies he had any hand in the death  
 of Mr. Amyatt who was killed on his M, 6.  
 Oct. 5, return to Calcutta, and that it hap-  
 and 7. pened by mistake, without his order;  
 —laments it, and apologizes for it; N, 6, b.  
 and at the same time seems quite in-  
 sensible of having done amiss, in the  
 orders given for the massacre of the  
 English prisoners that remained in his  
 power.  
 Letters that might tend to deter-  
 mine the question, how far there had P. 6.  
 been a concerted design in any members  
 of the Council, to dispossess the Na- Q. 6.  
 bob Cossim of the subahship, and to  
 procure the King's (Mogul's) nomi-  
 nation of another person in his place?  
 Extract of a letter from Mr. George  
 Gray,

- Year. Gray, Resident at Maulda, to the Letter of  
 Governor (dated the 7th of January reference.  
 1764. 1764.)  
 7 Jan. Letter the 23d of March 1764, S. 6.  
 23 Mar. from Mr. Senior.

Extract from a paper of representations, delivered by the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn to Major Adams, to be laid before the Board---All of them complaining of the tyranny and oppressions of the English Gomastahs in carrying on their trade. S. 6, a.

As soon as the war with Meer Cossim was ended, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier was in full possession of his government, the President thought himself at liberty to return to England; which he had before declared his resolution of doing, when there should be no longer any public call upon him for his stay. He accordingly acquainted the Board with his intention, in a letter 19 Dec. 1763. T, 6.

The answer of the Council, unanimously requesting the President to stay another season, to "prevent the country and the Company's trade from being again exposed to the hazard and desolation of war." T, 6, a.  
 T, 6, b.

N. B. The Publisher of the following Authentic Papers has been advised to give a chronological connection of dates and facts, which he hopes may be of use to the reader in understanding them. The greatest care has been taken to print them correctly. If any literal mistake of the press is discovered, the candid reader will pardon it. At the end of page 264, at the close of this Volume, in some part of the Impression, the word *Finis*, is placed instead of *the End of Vol. I.*



## RELATIVE TO THE

A— *Translation of a Copy of the PHIRMAUN.*

O all governors, officers, and managers of our affairs, Jagheerdars, Fougedars, Karnries, Rahdars, Guzerbauns, and Zemindars of the present and time to come, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, Port of Hougly, and other Ports of the aforefaid provinces, who hope for our royal favour.

Be it known unto you all, that in these days of our triumphant reign, Mr. John Surman and Kauja Sirhud, agents on the part of the English Company, have preferred a petition, in our just and equitable presence, to the following purpose: that, in consequence of a decree of his most sacred majesty Shah — deceased, and former grants, the English Company are exempted from customs in

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all parts of our dominions, except the port of Surat, and pay annually, into our royal treasury, at the port of Hougly, three thousand rupees, as a tribute, in lieu of customs; and they hope that, according to former grants, our royal Phirmaun will be vouchsafed to them.

Our absolute and high command is passed, that you well knowing, that whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring into or carry out from the ports, borders and quarters of these provinces, either by land or water, are exempt from duties, shall leave them to buy and sell at their own free liberty, shall annually receive the established tribute of three thousand rupees, and on no other account whatever impede or interrupt them. Moreover,

If any where any of their effects shall be made away with, you are to use all diligence in the recovery thereof, and shall punish the thieves, and deliver over the goods to the proper owner. Further, wheresoever they may set up a factory, and buy and sell goods and merchandize, you are to afford them help and support in their just concerns, and with justice and fairness cause to be repaid unto their agents, whatever just demand they may have upon any merchant, weaver, or other person, and you are to allow no one to molest their agents, nor shall you stop for customs, &c. boats hired by them, or of their own property.

### B — *Translation of the Treaty executed by* MEER JAFFIER.

I. **W**Hatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Doula, I agree to comply with.

II. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

III. All

III. All the effects and factories, belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

IV. In consideration of the losses, which the English Company have sustained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their officers, I will give them a crore of rupees.

V. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lack of rupees.

VI. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Musselmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lack of rupees shall be given.

VII. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lack of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Musselmen, shall be left to the Admiral, and Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zeminders, besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

IX. All the land lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindaree of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zeminders.

X. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.



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XI. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hougly near the river Ganges.

XII. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15 Ramazan in the fourth year of the king's reign.

C — *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Scrafton at Moradbaug to P. R. Pearkes, Esq; and the Council at Dacca, without Date, but wrote between the fourteenth and twenty-first of July 1758.*

Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you by express Pulwar of the complaints made to me by the Nabob's Meer Munsee of your opposing Nehimodee, in possessing himself of Russelpoor and Hydrapoor, for which he had received ample Perwanahs from the Nabob's Divan.

There is likewise a complaint lodged against an English Gomastah at Chilmarree, that he gives protection to numbers of merchants who trade there, which has proved a loss to the government of seventy thousand rupees. Also, several complaints of under-protection to the Zemindars, tenants and others. My general answer is, that I will write to the gentlemen at Dacca.

I persuade myself, that most of these complaints are without grounds, and that you will do your utmost to prevent the encroachment of your black servants.

Ca—Ex-

Ca — *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings at Moradbaug to W. B. Sumner, Esq; Chief at Dacca, dated about the thirtieth of January, 1759.*

I Have received a long letter from the Shahzada, in which he complains, that you have begun to carry on a large trade in salt, and betel-nut, and refuse to pay the duties on those articles, which has likewise encouraged others to do the same in your name; which practice, if continued, will oblige him to throw up his post of Shahbunder Droga. In the affair of Mr. Chevalier's salt you informed me, that you had paid the Shahbunder duties for that parcel; the same information, I think, I received from Mr. Waller. I have, in another letter, acquainted you with the same complaint from Shahzada. What other circumstances there may be in this affair, that might prove to give a different light into it from what I have conceived from the particulars already mentioned, I know not; but I must desire, that you will prevent these complaints from going before the Nabob. We have not, I believe, any right to trade in salt and betel-nut; at least, it was never (that I know of) stipulated in our favour with the Nabob; and with respect to the salt trade, I myself know, that none of the Company's servants, not the colonel himself, has ever engaged in it without the Nabob's Perwanah.

Cb — *Extract of another Letter from the same to the same. Dated Dec. 12, 1758.*

THE second complaint is, that an English gentleman (Mr. Chevalier, I suppose) has carried a large cargo of salt to Chilmaree, which

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is an unprivileged trade ; and that he has taken *Muchulcas* from all the other traders in the same article, by which they are not allowed to sell any salt till his shall be all disposed of.

Cc— *Extract of another from the same to the same. Dated July 26, 1759.*

SIR,

**M**ANY complaints have been laid before the Nabob against Mr. Chevalier, who is accused of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaree, and Coreegaum, by oppressing the merchants of those places in the monopoly of several commodities, particularly salt and tobacco, no one being allowed to buy or sell either of those articles but with his permission.

I desire, that you will make the strictest enquiry into this, and take effectual care to prevent such complaints for the future.

A translation of a letter to the Wadadar of the Pergunah, under the seal of Mr. Chevalier, in answer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into those parts, I send you herewith, on which I shall only make this remark, that the magistrates and public officers of the government have an undoubted right to see the Company's Dustuck, having no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company, and others usurping the English name, nor the Company any means besides to secure their own privileges. It cannot, therefore, but appear strange in any person employed by the English, that they should make any difficulty to shew by what powers they are commissioned ; unless they are conscious that they are guilty of practices which ought to be concealed : at least, such an abrupt behaviour cannot but tend to create an  
ill-will



ill-will against the English, and aggravate every complaint made against them.

*P. S.* I send you a copy of the Wadadars letter. The circumstance of the Tolingas being sent by Mr. Chevalier is only an aggravation, but the rest cannot be without foundation; I must insist that you either put an entire stop to those complaints, or recall Mr. Chevalier, who, I am convinced, has not behaved in so moderate, or prudent a manner as he ought.

*Cd — Copy of Mr. Chevalier's Letter to Meer Atta Oolla, Wadadar of the Pergunah of Baharbund.*

**T**HE letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the English, I must have the English Sunnud, and desire a copy of it to be sent to you. In answer, I ask, who are you that I should send you a copy of the Sunnud? If you want to be informed, who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief, who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine; if they do without reason, they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to your's, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them.

*Ce — Extract of another Letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Sumner. Dated 8 Dec. 1758.*

**I** Heartily congratulate you on your appointment to the chieftship of Dacca, and wish you all desirable success in that station. I own, I dreaded the appointment of some other person, who would not perhaps have acted with the same moderation,

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which I am persuaded you have always done, notwithstanding the numberless complaints from your quarter; and therefore can without compliment assure you, that I sincerely rejoice that this office has fallen to your lot.

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor (Mr. HOLWELL) to Mr. HASTINGS. Dated 11 Feb. 1760.*

WE have returned no reply to the Nabob's Perwanahs to the council for two reasons; his large seal affixed to them is derogatory to the Company's honour, and addressees of this kind to the council must be at all events quashed in the beginning, or the dignity of the president will fall to nothing. If he pleases to address me on those subjects, I will reply to him; in the mean time, I beg to know on what pretence we are prohibited trading in the two articles of salt and betel-nut.

*D—Copy of the Memorial delivered by the President (Mr. Holwell) to the select Committee, upon the Arrival of Mr. Van Sittart, to succeed him in the Government.*

AS my health, and the consideration of other circumstances, will soon oblige me to request permission from the board to resign the service, I beg leave, previous to that step, to accompany this short address with such remarks and memorials, as may convey to the president (so lately arrived amongst us) a knowledge of the present state and situation of the Company's affairs, as they stand connected with, or are dependent on the Government of Bengal.

To form a judgment of the present state of things in Bengal, it will be needful to retrospect on the

he late revolution of the year 1757, when necessity, and a just resentment for the most cruel injuries, obliged us to enter into a plan to deprive Serajah Dowla of his government, which was accordingly done, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Aly Cawn fixed by us at the head of the provinces on certain conditions, and under a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive.

A short space of time fully proved how unworthy the family thus raised ! The conditions of the treaty could not be obtained from the Nabob without being in a manner extorted from him, and by a thousand shifts and evasions it was plain to the world not a single article would ever have been complied with, had the Nabob been invested with power sufficient to have prevented it, or could he have divested himself of his own fears and apprehensions from our resentments.

Tuncaws on the lands were however granted for the payment of the stipulated sums at particular times, by which the Royroyan, Mutta Suddier, Dewans, and every Harpey employed in the Zemindary and revenues became our implacable enemies ; and, consequently, a party was soon raised at the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's son, Miran and Rajah Ragebullub, who were daily planning schemes to shake off their dependance on the English, and continually urging to the Nabob, that till this was effected, his government was a name only. The Nabob, something irritated by the protection given Rajah Doolubram, and weak and irresolute in himself, fell too soon into these sentiments.

The first step taken to accomplish this measure of independance was, to assassinate and take off, under one pretence or other, every minister and officer at the Durbar, who they knew were attached to the English ; in consequence of which,  
Coja



Coja Haddy, and Cossim Aly Cawn, first and second Buxy, were assassinated in November and December 1758; and after many attempts made on the persons of Rheim Cawn, and Golam Shah, his uncle and Brother, they were obliged to seek an asylum with the Shahzada in 1759. Roydoolub, his son, and four brothers, were proscribed on no account, but that of the various informations he gave us and his firm attachment; this family would have fallen a sacrifice, had they not been rescued out of the Nabob's hands by force of arms. Ameer Beg Cawn would from the same cause have suffered the same fate, had he not given his solemn engagement to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did.

The next project of the Durbar appeared, by every concurring subsequent circumstance, to be a secret negotiation with the Dutch, for transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Rajah Ragebullub on the one part, and Toocra-toojar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Deccan expedition took place, and the garrison was much reduced.

Soon after, the provinces were invaded by the Shahzada on the side of Patna, and Colonel Clive with our military and seapoys joined the Nabob and his troops, and by forced marches preserved Rajah Ramnarain steady in his duty, and arrived just in time to save that city and province, and drove the Prince, though the undoubted heir to the kingdom, beyond the Currumnassa, and brought the Bouge poor, &c. countries into subjection to the Nabob.

The prince more than once wrote to the colonel, offering any terms for the company and himself,

self, on condition the English would quit the Nabob and join his arms; but the colonel thinking it incompatible with our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, gave the prince no encouragement.

At the end of the campaign, the colonel returned to us in June 1759, and the two Nabobs arrived in the city about the same time, with full conviction of our firm attachment to his government and family, and our religious regard to our treaties. What sense they retained of these obligations, and how long, will appear by and by.

The Nabobs, thinking themselves now better established in the government, and screened by such a sure and powerful support as our arms, began to set no bounds to their cruelties, oppressions, and exactions from those who had any thing to be plundered of; and this barely received a check from the severe and frequent remonstrances of the colonel to the Nabob, on a conduct which he told him must, from the general detestation of the people, end in the destruction of himself, his family, and country. His troops clamorous at the same time for their pay, whilst the Nabob, in place of appropriating the sums he had acquired by repeated assassinations to the just demands of his Jemadars and troops, lavished the same in boundless extravagances.

About the latter end of July 1759, the young Nabob arrived on a pretended visit to colonel Clive, but the real motive was, to negotiate, if possible, the delivery of Rajah Doolubram, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father, such as the surrender of the Tuncaw Lands on security, the borrowing of us a large sum of money, &c. In these the son proving unsuccessful, a member of the board of select committee was, at his desire, sent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his son had received

received in Calcutta, and at the same time to intimate to him the advice we had received, that a large armament was fitting out at Batavia destined for Bengal; and to penetrate, if possible, his sentiments on this occasion, and what resolution he would come to, in case that force arrived in the river.

He was not to be reconciled to the refusals his son met with, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intention to pay the colonel a visit himself in September, which he did with success equal to his son; he seemed to make light of the Dutch intelligence, and not to give credit to it, though he discovered much perplexity; however, he wrote a letter to the colonel, demanding our assistance by virtue of the treaty of alliance, in case the Dutch troops came into the river.

The armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short, his mind much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of colonel Clive, and the council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business transmitted to the honourable the Court of Directors, and to our several admirals: a perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the article of the treaty of alliance, and that from this period no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude, to which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent farces carried on between the Nabobs and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the resident at Moradbaug on this subject; by reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's  
real



real intentions never were to distress effectually that people, but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us; witness, the private orders and instructions given to Meer Cossim Aly Cawn, so opposite to his publick ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinsura; in the apparent delays of this service Cossim Aly Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late president, though unjustly, as we subsequently learnt. He was acting strictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

In the beginning of the year 1760, the Shahzada invaded the provinces again with a force more respectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Comgar Cawn, Golam Shaw, Reim Cawn and others; the Nabob by this time having made himself and his family so universally hated, that we may justly say, there was hardly a man in the provinces that did not wish success to the prince.

Colonel Clive resigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Morattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable diversion in favour of the prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, seapoys, and field-artillery for the defence of this country, to join his under the command of Meer Cossim Aly Cawn, which was granted; but their use was frustrated by the Nabob's pusillanimous, irregular and contradictory orders to his general Cossim Aly Cawn, to march with our troops to Cutwa and the city, in place of marching directly to the southward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Morattas, and a stop was put to the collecting our Tuneaws, in which was our greatest dependance and expectation for the service of the year. (Vide military correspondence in the months of February and

and March 1760) Our troops under the command of major Caillaud had taken the field, in conjunction with the Nabob's, under the command of his son, sometime before the Colonel's departure for Europe, and shaped their rout towards Patna, whilst the Nabob himself remained in the neighbourhood of Rajamau, a check on Cuddeim. Hossain Cawn, Nabob of Poornea (then in rebellion) until Shubut's advance, recalled him to the city.

A regular and particular detail of the transactions of this laborious campaign will not be expected here, as the progress of it will present itself in the course of the military correspondence laid before the committee, therefore general remarks on the success, effects, and probable consequences, will be sufficient.

This, like the former ones, has produced no definite action or stroke to lay the least foundation of peace to the provinces. In the course of this campaign three morally sure and important opportunities were lost by the cowardice of both the Nabobs; the first, when the young Nabob refused to join the major in the immediate pursuit of the Shahzada when routed near Patna; the second, when the old Nabob refused to comply with the majors request and demand to cross his horse over the Burdwan river, and attack the prince when united with Shabut, &c.; the third, when in the late pursuit of Cuddeim Hossain Cawn, the young Nabob refused to lead or detach his horse to the major's assistance, by which a general action might have been brought on: but on the contrary, he kept encamped two or three miles in the major's rear, as if his intentions were to leave our troops, without horse, a sacrifice to the enemy.

Had the most been made of either of these favourable occasions, the stroke had, in all human probability,

probability, been decisive; as it is, it only proves, that we continue to draw our swords in support of a family, most unworthy the government they have by our assistance usurped, and this to the manifest hazard and ruin of the Company's trade and concerns.

On the near approach of the major to Patna, he received a Phirmaun from the prince, of which he advised the board, and promised to forward a copy, but no wonder, that, in the course of so extraordinary and fatiguing a campaign, it should escape his memory. On his arrival in the Beerboom country, after the unexpected march he formed upon his defeat, the president received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vackeel in the Shahzada's camp, and that he was negotiating a separate treaty with him. This appeared to have so dangerous a tendency, that any means were eligible to obtain the truth of it.

The late president, by a third hand, procured Affid Jumma Cawn Rajah of Beerboom, and his uncle Comgar Cawn, to be wrote to on this subject of the Nabob's Vackeel and treaty. This soon produced a Phirmaun from the prince, inclosing a copy of the Nabob's Arzdasht. The president made no reply to the Phirmaun, but returned a short one to Comgar Cawn's letter which accompanied it, intimating, that copies carried little validity where originals were in being.

A few days before the prince begun his retreat from the hills, the president received a second Phirmaun from him, inclosing the original Arzdasht from the Nabob. All that can be said, either for or against belief being given to the authenticity either of the copy or original, will appear on the face of the correspondence, in two letters from the president to the major, under dates the twenty-second, and twenty-fourth of April last, and to

Mr



Mr. Hastings, the twentieth of the same month. To these we may further add, that if they are forgeries, they have yet this corroborating signature of truth, that the whole tenor of the Nabob's conduct most exactly tallies with the terms of the *Arzdasht*. But to resume the course of the campaign to the present time.

Patna is relieved, and secure for the present. Cuddeim Hosein Cawn is dispossessed of his government of Purnea, and driven out of the country, but with all his treasure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob's name; so that, after the rains, he will easily join the prince with the essentials of war, which he only wants to harass the provinces five years longer. The young Nabob is taken off by a flash of lightning, and our troops are gone into quarters. After having done as much, or more than could be expected from men so wretchedly supported by those very people for whose preservation they endured every distress and fatigue, and braved variety of deaths.

The prince has found means to preserve himself and forces a footing on this side the Soane, and in the neighbourhood of Patna. It is said, Comgar Cawn has forsaken the cause of the prince, which appears most improbable, not only on account of his having no other chance for reimbursing himself but perseverance; but because we have undoubted intelligence, that three thousand of his troops have lately joined his nephew Assid Jumma Cawn, who has thrown off his allegiance to the Nabob. These troops are, doubtless, lodged to make an early and important diversion at the opening of the next campaign, by entering the Burdwan country as soon as the prince begins to be in motion above. And thus our supplies from thence will be again cut off, and the Company's affairs be reduced to the last extremity of distress, unless the  
approaching

approaching ships of the season relieve us, or the whole Tuncaws on those lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly possible in any serviceable degree, and the former carries very little probability. The late proposal of the Nabob's to pay our balances, and resume his lands, is devoutly to be wished; but it is likewise to be feared he has no meaning in it.

The various reasons, urged against the measure of supporting the present government longer on the plan, we have been some time pursuing, to the heavy injury of the Company, with various expedients to rescue them from manifest approaching ruin, are set forth at large, in the military correspondence, in letters from the president to Major Caillaud, under dates the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth of May, fourteenth of June, and third of July; to Mr. Amyatt, under dates the twenty-fifth and thirtieth of May; to Mr. Hastings, under dates the twenty-fourth of May, thirtieth of June, and fifth and eighth of July. Both the reasons and expedients, in the present state of affairs, seem rather to confirm than contra-indicate any other; however, the sudden death of the young Nabob (if made a proper use of) seems to point out a middle way, if things are not gone too far already to admit of any other than the divesting this family of the government altogether. Vide, the President's letter to Mr. Hastings of the sixteenth of last month, and to Major Caillaud of the twenty-sixth, on the same subject.

Respecting all matters relative to the Dutch and the Nabob, the Dutch and Us, the Tuncaws and obstructions raised by the Nabob on our collecting them, as also the late secret treaty between the Nabob, and the Morattas, &c. they will  
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appear on the face of the correspondence without exaggeration.

*E—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart to Colonel Caillaud. Dated 29 July 1760.*

**C**ertain it is, that some new measures must be adopted, or both Bengal and Madras will be ruined for want of money. What I wrote you about formerly (in the month of April, I believe) seems to me to be the most promising plan. By that we extend our influence and our income without breaking through any former engagements, and it appears to me to be the most certain way of keeping the affairs of the province quiet, and in manageable order.

*F—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart to Colonel Caillaud. Dated 4 August 1760.*

**I** Suppose the Nabob, when he answers the letters I wrote him, will, in consequence of your advice, propose a meeting: and indeed, I think, it highly necessary. When such a conference is resolved on, I will let you know in time to be there, and, I think, we should find the means of removing that want of confidence, which I see now every moment between the Nabob and our gentlemen. It is this mistrust that seems to me to be in great measure the cause of all his difficulties and ours. His people slight him, imagining, that with us they will be sure to find protection; and, on the other hand, those with whom the Company have to do, those particularly upon whom we have assignments for money, make use of it as an opportunity of delaying their payments, depending on the Nabob's countenancing their backwardness.

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If a negociation with the prince should take place, I am so far from intending to encourage a revolution in these provinces, that I would have the confirmation of the present Nabob stipulated for the first article. It might, however, be upon condition of his making over to us countries to the value of about fifty lacks *per annum*. Burdwan and Kishnagur would nearly answer that sum, and lie extremely convenient for us; the Shazada, at the same time, should engage to furnish the Company monthly with twice as much as would defray the charges of the troops destined for his service, and to confer on the Company, in case of his success, such privileges and advantages in all parts of India, as their several governors might request.

G—*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Van Sittart, to which Mr. Amyatt also subscribed.*

No date, but received 24 August 1760.

IT were to be wished, that confidence between us and the Nabob could be established; but give me leave to assure you, that will be no very easy task, until he changes his counsellors. My opinion in this is confirmed by Colonel Clive's judgment, who wanted such a change, and would have effected it had he staid; but I hope the same from your management. . . . The money matter still perplexes me more. The state of our finances at Bengal, you are before this acquainted with. The countries, you mention, are the best we could have for the sum wanted; but nothing will induce the Nabob to part with them, but his fear of our strength and power; and not much less force is requisite to keep him in awe, and to prevent enemies from within or without from

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disturbing

disturbing the peace of the Soubaship, which if not perfectly maintained, of consequence the revenues suffer. . . . The Nabob would not be a poorer man by giving us fifty lack *per annum*, with which he could have a body of forces that would do him service, and it does not cost him less than that sum for maintaining an useless rabble; but to convince him to this step, there lies the difficulty. The colonel's last letter to him was full of salutary instructions on this head; but he is of so mistrustful a nature, that already our power and influence, though meant for his good, gives him pain; and every thing we can propose, that seemingly tends to encrease it, gives him umbrage, and will make him unwillingly consent to this or any other step we can propose. Be assured of this, that he can only be frightened into compliance; and so you see, it is my opinion, that though the prince goes, we cannot send both men and money to Madras.

In my two last letters, I have spoke fully as to the affairs of this province, and given such reasons as I had for the appointment of Meer Sidon and Rajah Rajebullub; at least, what I have most strongly urged, and it seems to be your opinion, that no change should be made for the present. The Nabob's usage to me, in the course of this affair, hath piqued me sensibly, nor will I let it go unnoticed. I do not quarrel with the man for being of a different opinion with me, had he ingenuously told me so, for I left all to his choice, and only advised what I thought best; but he agreed by his letters to all I proposed, allowed it was the best could be done, and approved of all my measures, whilst, at the same time, he was acting diametrically opposite, without ever considering me, or the engagements I had entered into upon the strength of his promises.

H—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud. Dated Patna, 5 October 1760.*

GENTLEMEN,

I Am favoured with your's of the twenty-fifth ultimo. I am very glad you have taken steps to supply us with money; we have laboured under great difficulties for want of it, and a small supply to the Nabob's troops would have enabled Rajebullub to quit this place, who is very anxious and desirous to get away, and without some money he cannot. He has run the risque of his life these three days, and I expected an uproar in the city hourly. To day they are somewhat quiet, and Ramnarain has sent for some of the chief commanders to expostulate with them, but without some money sent him, he says, he cannot, nor will not undertake to satisfy them. I have talked to Ramnarain, all in my power, to take the command of them, as Rajebullub may go, and I cannot but say he has a great deal of reason on his side, they are such a set of rabble, and he without money, besides his own troops unpaid; they will not hear reason; some money must be given immediately, and where that is to come from he does not know. The Nabob has not wrote to them or Rajebullub, and Cossim Aly Cawn to a very few, that they are outrageous. They say, the colonel and Rajebullub kept them together; one is gone, and sent them no money, and the latter they expect to make their pay good, so that here is a fine spot of confusion. Our army only prevents matters coming to extremities. I apprehend, when the prince hears all this, we shall have him move this way. Were all these troublesome forces joined with him



it would be nothing; but they within and the prince without is bad, though, I hope, as we are a little quiet to day, that Ramnarain will be able to work upon them; Rajebullub, in these matters, is a child to the other.

Ha—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud. Dated Patna, 12 October 1760.*

**T**HE Nabob's Seapoys are daily deserting to the prince; the remainder labour under great difficulties, and are very troublesome for their pay.

I—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Select Committee. Dated Moradbaug, 18 July 1760.*

**M**Y last gave you the melancholy news of the Chuta Nabob's death. It is proper, that I now acquaint you with the consequences of that event here. No sooner was the intelligence published, than the Seapoys, no longer intimidated by the authority of the Chuta Nabob, nor the presence of the English forces, which had hitherto restrained them from giving scope to their resentment against the Nabob, immediately concurred to take the advantage, which his grief, and the consternation caused by so sudden and fatal a stroke afforded them to compel him to pay their long arrears. They accordingly encompassed his palace on the fourteenth, in a clamorous manner, but proceeded no further than to insult the treasurer and other muttasuddies, whom they pulled out of their palanquins, and treated with other indignities. The same disorders continued the next day.

On

On the sixteenth, they assembled in a large body, and stopped up the doors of the palace, suffering none to enter, or come out of it. Numbers mounted on every wall, not excepting the places held the most sacred, and loaded the Nabob with the most opprobrious language, threatening him with death if their demands were not complied with. Such of his courtiers or attendants, as made their appearance, were assaulted by fragments broke off from the walls, by which several persons of distinction were wounded. This scene lasted two days, and seemed to portend the certain destruction of the Nabob, when Cossin Aly Cawn, the Nabob's son-in-law, by his interposition, put a stop to the persecution, and brought on an accommodation. The Nabob has promised to pay the full arrears from the sixth sun, and two half months of the present year, as soon as it shall appear from the accounts what is due to them. For this payment, Cossin Aly Cawn became security, and paid them immediately three lacks of rupees from his own treasury. This satisfied the Seapoys, who instantly retired to their own habitations. Though the storm is now blown over, yet should it return again (which is to be apprehended from the small prospect there at present appears, that the Nabob will be able to collect so large a sum as he has engaged to discharge) I much fear the consequences will prove fatal to the Nabob, as well from the unruliness and disaffection of the multitude, as from the machinations of his numerous enemies, with whom it will be no difficulty to make these the instrument of his ruin.

Affid Jemma Cawn, the Rajah of Beerboom, is assembling forces, and, though no open hostilities have been committed by him, it is no longer doubted, but his design is to revolt from the present government.

K—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Major Caillaud.*

**F**Ormerly the command of the forces, the government of the country, the regulating of the army, and raising of troops, were the office of the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk deceased. At this time, excepting my beloved son Meer Mahomed Cossain Cawn Bahadre, there is none of my sons or brethren equal to that trust, and I now have received greater proofs than ever of his merit. For this reason, I have judged my son aforesaid, worthy of and proper for the direction of all military operations and affairs of the administration, in the same manner with the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk deceased. I doubt not, that you have the same opinion of the qualities and capacity of my son aforesaid; and the friendship which you entertain for him is free from deceit and design. From the entire dependance, which he places upon your established acquaintance and friendship, he hopes that you will assist him on this occasion, by exerting your influence so effectually in his behalf, that Mahrajah Ramnarain Bahadre may be entirely pleased with my said son, and maintain a friendly intercourse with him; that when required he may afford the said Mahrajah his assistance and support, as the late Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk did. By this our friendship will be daily augmented, the affairs of the government will prosper, and you will do me great pleasure.

L—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Holwell. Received 10 July 1760:*

**T**HE letter you wrote me concerning Meer Mahomed Cossain Aly Cawn, I have received. You acquaint me, that he is a noble, good, and brave



brave man. Mr. Hastings also has wrote me to the same purpose, and has desired me, to let him succeed my son. This rejoiced me much, because I was sensible he is highly deserving of my favour and friendship. I have no friends dearer to me than himself and family, and should be very glad if it was in my power to give it him; but the colonel has wrote me a letter, a copy whereof I have inclosed for your perusal, and you will then be able to judge, what motive has induced me to prefer the Chuta Nabob's son.

M—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Calcutta to the President and Council of Fort St. George. Dated 28 July 1760.*

WE have received your favours of the twelfth of June, and seventh of July, and are very sorry to find, there is a prospect of your being under the necessity of raising the blockade of Pondicherry. We flatter ourselves, however, that affairs will take a more favourable turn, and that when the expected succours arrive, you will be fully enabled to carry into execution your most sanguine expectations. We most ardently wish it were in our power to assist you on this important occasion with men and money, but such is our situation, that notwithstanding our unwearied endeavours, we are not able to effect either. The Shahzada with his forces had crossed the river Soane, which afforded a prospect of the Patna province being restored to peace, for a few months at least; but the death of the young Nabob, which happened by a flash of lightning on the eighth of July, has encouraged the Shahzada to return within a few cofs of the city of Patna. Major Cailaud, with our troops and those of the Nabob,  
under

under his command, by our latest advices, was in that city, so that an action may very probably ensue.

Every method has been tried for raising a sum of money, as well for the supplying your settlement, as providing an investment here for the Company. The troubles, which have this season continued so late in the country, have so much impeded the collection of our Tuncaws, that for a considerable time past we have had little more money in our treasury than sufficient to defray the current expences of the settlement. This being the real situation of our affairs, we persuade ourselves you will be convinced that your not receiving the supplies you may have expected from us is not owing to any neglect in us, as we can, on the contrary, assure you we should, upon all occasions, most chearfully contribute every thing in our power for the good of the service in general.

N—*Extract of a Consultation of the 7th of August 1760. Present Mes. Van Sittart, Sumner, Holwell, M'Gwire, Batson, Verelst, Smyth, and Smith.*

**I**N order to determine upon the expediency of complying with the application of the Committee of Aurungs, for a sufficient advance of money to compleat the investment intended this year, the board think it necessary to inquire into the present state of the treasury, and the farther supplies that we have to depend on, supposing none to come from Europe, by the ships of this season, and to set against them, first, the indispensable demands for the current charges of the presidency, as the pay of the troops, the marine charges, the fortifications and repairs, &c.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, the following calculation is now framed, to include a whole year, commencing the first of August 1760, and ending the thirty-first of July 1761.

|                                                                   | <i>Rupees.</i> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Remaining this day in the treasury                                | 1,00,000       |
| To be received from the Nabob the full amount of his debt, about  | 25,00,000      |
| To be received from the company's lands                           | 8,00,000       |
| Land and Sea customs                                              | 1,50,000       |
| In sales in the import warehouse, and bills of exchange on Europe | 2,00,000       |
|                                                                   | <hr/>          |
| Total about                                                       | 37,50,000      |

*N. B.* The amount of this calculation is 37,50,000 rupees, to which we may add 12 lacks for the yearly amount of the lack of rupees *per* month, which the Nabob has stipulated to pay for the field expences of our troops. The whole sum will be 49,50,000; of which it is to be observed, that 37 lacks were to be paid by the Nabob, and therefore could by no means be depended on. The remainder is only 12,50,000 rupees, a sum very insufficient for defraying even the current expences of the settlement.

Of which it may be computed, that eighteen lacks of rupees will be required for the indispensable charges of the troops, fortifications, &c. for twelve months, from the first of August 1760, to the thirty-first of July 1761. And the president represents to the board, that the want of money upon the coast began to be very pressing before he left it, so that there seems to be an absolute and immediate necessity for sending at least ten lacks to Madras, otherwise the vast sums already disbursed there, and all the advantages thereby acquired



quired over the enemy will be lost, at a crisis too, when there is great probability of pursuing the blow with success to the utmost accomplishment of our wishes, by the reduction of Pondicherry.

These ten lacks for Madras must therefore be made up out of the first monies that can be got together, whether by loan, or from the Nabob's Tuncaws and assignments. There will yet remain ten lacks out of the before going computation, which will serve to begin upon an investment next year, if no other urgent occasion should demand a supply from it.

But for the present year it is absolutely impossible, unless our honourable masters should, contrary to their last mentioned intentions, send us a supply in the expected ships.

Upon the whole, it is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it will be most for the Company's interest, in this case of necessity, to stop any further advances on account of this year's investment:

O—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Sykes to Mr. Van Sittart. Dated Cossimbazar, 16 September 1760.*

I Now inclose you two letters from the Nabob, on perusing which you will find, I have not been successful in my application to him for the Fougedarry of Chittagong and Sillett. He has acquainted me just now with the result of his consultation yesterday with his ministers, which is a downright refusal, alledging, that these two provinces he has assigned for the maintenance of two of his sons, and Moniloll acts as their Dewan. I informed him, that you did not mean that our having these two countries should be any loss to him in his revenues, as we would pay the same as the  
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the present possessor does; yet he seems to think, that if we have once a factory at Chittagong, his people will be greatly controuled in the transactions in those parts.

P—*Copy of the Proceedings at a Committee.*

*Present Mes. Van Sittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Guire. 11 Sept. 1760.*

**T**HE colonel informs the Committee, that he left Patna the thirty-first of last month, at which time the prince was at Dowdnagore on this side the Soane; that all the reports of his crossing it were over, and that Monsieur Laws with Mawdarah Dowla were preparing to repass the river, and join him. It was said, their next motion would be towards Comgar Cawn, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be settled.

Before we resolve upon a plan of future operations, we will attempt a description of the state the Company's affairs are now in, and this not to be confined to Bengal, but with regard also to the exigencies of the other settlements, who are told to depend on this for supplies of money. Our influence encreasing from time to time, since the revolution brought about by Colonel Clive, so have we been obliged to encrease our force to support that influence. We have now more than a thousand Europeans and five thousand Seapoys, which with the contingent expences of an army, is far more than the revenues allotted for their maintenance. This deficiency was not so much attended to whilst the immense sums stipulated by the last treaty were coming in, but these resources being now quite exhausted, and no supplies of money coming

coming from Europe, it becomes immediately necessary to secure to the Company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in besides a supply for the emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.

The first question then that naturally occurs is this, Whether that great force is wanted?

That a less force would secure the settlement of Fort William, with its former bounds, against any thing that is now in the country, is not to be doubted, but it is as certain, that nothing but that influence and weight, which we maintain by the largeness of our force, can possibly prevent the well-known designs of the two principal European powers, who have long shared with us the benefits of the trade of this country; and to this we may add, that the nearer we approach to a peace in Europe, the nearer we are to our danger here.

These considerations, having their due weight, we believe few will dispute the necessity of keeping up our present force, perhaps augmenting it. This granted, it follows, that means must be found within ourselves of supporting the expence, and these means can be no other than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country.

By the treaty made with the present Nabob, he is obliged, as often as it may be requisite for our troops to take the field, to furnish a lack of rupees a month for their expence; but the uncertainty of this payment has been too long experienced to be any more depended on, nor indeed is it by any means sufficient to answer the purpose, supposing the payment regularly made. It must therefore be proposed to the Nabob, to assign to the Company a much larger income, and to assign it in such a full and ample manner, by giving to the Company the sole right of such districts as lie most  
convenient



convenient for our management, that we may no longer be subject to the inconveniencies we experienced from the late Tuncaws, being orders only on a certain part of the revenues. From the experienced weakness and unsteadiness of the Nabob himself, and the nature of those dependents who now rule him, and who by self-interested views must naturally oppose every increase of our power, as their own will of course be proportionably lessened, it is to be supposed, that such a proposal would meet with all the difficulties that could possibly be thrown in our way. Notwithstanding these difficulties we will suppose, that we should have weight enough to over-rule his counsellors, and to obtain his consent, we then just keep our present footing. We have a fund for paying our troops, and those troops must be employed in the service of the Nabob, and this service, the same as for two years past, in opposing the Shahzada, whose designs on these provinces, it is almost certain will still be pursued.

From the experience of these two years, it is pretty clear, that our troops, though victorious in the field, yet cannot by their success put an end to the troubles. The same cause which hath prevented it before still exists. The nature of those people in alliance with whom we are to act, who will not pursue the advantages we gain, and we not having the means in our power, for want of a body of cavalry under our command. Thus the war may be protracted for years to come, and every year the Nabob's circumstances are worse and worse, through an increase of expence and loss of revenues, not only by the devastations which the enemy may make, but by the continual defection of some of his own rajahs and dependents. Many, in the course of the two last years, have declared themselves; and that others are ripe for doing the same

same is not to be doubted, particularly the Rajah of Beerboom, in a letter the governor lately received from him, has spoke his sentiments very freely. The province of Patna is already so much reduced, by the two campaigns, as to be incapable of affording subsistence to the prince any longer, who must always find on the spot the means of carrying on the war, having no resources within himself, and who consequently must through necessity attempt next year to penetrate farther into Bengal; and in this he will no doubt be encouraged by the success, which attended his last year's incursion as far as Burdwan.

It is therefore next to be considered, whether it is best for the interest of the Nabob, to pursue the present measures, by continuing to oppose the Shahzada, or to support him in his pretensions to the crown of Delly? The two parties still subsist, between whom the throne is disputed, or rather who shall give a king to that throne. One of those parties has repeatedly invited the Shahzada to him, and it is well known what offers he has made both to the Nabob and us for our assistance. The same reasons may be supposed yet to have their weight with him, while the dispute remains undecided; and is it not probable, that such an assistance given to the prince, and thrown into Abdalla's scale, would insure the success of the enterprize? The immediate consequence of this to Bengal would be clearing the country of an enemy, by removing the cause whence all the late troubles and confusion have arisen; and if we with reason flatter ourselves we should succeed, what advantages may not the Company expect?

Supposing this change of measures does not appear to the Nabob in the light we have represented, it is to be considered, whether the exigencies of the Company's affairs before described do not  
require

require our forming such connections independently of him, as may over-rule the advice and sway of his creatures and ministers.

The unfortunate death of the young Nabob having created a number of separate interests, which it is impossible to conciliate to the satisfaction of all, and thereby given the fairest opportunity to any other European power to gain a party to support them in their designs of establishing an influence here, is an inducement to make us follow such a system as will put this the most out of their power.

The share of influence we now enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages and weighty effects which are necessary not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and of failing us at a time when we most want it, and nothing is more probable than that that period will happen on a peace. To prevent the evil consequences of this, there seems now to offer such an opportunity of securing to ourselves all that we could wish in this respect, as likely may never happen again; an opportunity that will give us both power and right.

Another principal motive, that urges us to think of changing our system, is the want of money; a want that is not confined to ourselves alone, but upon which greatly depend the operations on the coast. The reduction of Pondicherry, and the provision of an investment for loading home the next year's ships at all the three presidencies.

It is hardly to be doubted, but that the Shahzada would be willing to enter into a negotiation with us independent of the Nabob, but such a measure would neither be for the interest nor the honour of our nation. Our views in adopting the system should be directed rather to strengthen than weaken or overthrow the present Subah. All we desire is, to see the power removed out of the

D

hands



hands of that sort of men, who now rule and direct the affairs of the Nabob, and through whose mismanagements and frauds, the country and his administration suffer so considerably, and to have such a share of power invested in the Company as will enable them to prevent the bad consequences of so many contending interests; will effectually put a stop to that dissipation of revenues which hath reduced the Nabob to his present distressed condition, which revenue, if properly applied, would leave him nor us any thing to fear from the designs of any enemy, and effectually secure to us such a fund as would answer all our present pressing exigencies, and in time prove an increase of honour and advantage to the nation and the Company.

*Q—The President lays before the Committee, the following Letter which he lately received from the Rajab of Burboom.*

“ **T**Hanks be given to the Almighty at this  
 “ happy time; I have received your most  
 “ kind letter, acquainting me of your appoint-  
 “ ment to the administration of the affairs of the  
 “ Company, and your safe arrival in Calcutta.  
 “ It has filled my heart with a joy too great for ex-  
 “ pression, and I have offered up my praises to  
 “ **G O D** for it. May the Almighty bestow on  
 “ you a daily increase of honour, and incline you  
 “ to favour your well-wisher. This is the state  
 “ of my affairs. By the countenance and care of  
 “ you, gentlemen, my Zemindaree had begun to  
 “ put on a flourishing appearance; but lately,  
 “ since I have been deprived of that advantage,  
 “ the magistrate of the country, who has rebelled  
 “ against his sovereign, afflicts every man of worth  
 “ and honour with insults and indignities, from  
 “ which

“ which the strictest obedience is no security. By  
“ the commands of the Lord of the universe, I  
“ have put myself in readiness. You are a wise  
“ and considerate man. The principles of your  
“ religion ordain, that every man should be put  
“ in possession of his right; and by your cu-  
“ stoms too, the king is entitled to obedience.  
“ These considerations, added to the long friend-  
“ ship I have had for your country, persuade me  
“ that you will engage in no cause that shall op-  
“ pose that of Shah Aulum. Since your inclina-  
“ tions and mine are always the same, I hope  
“ from the countenance of your favour to be al-  
“ ways made happy by the news of your welfare,  
“ and that you will take care of me.”

R— *Extract of the Proceedings at a Com-  
mittee, the 15th Sept. 1760. Present,  
Mess. Van Sittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Hol-  
well, and M'Gwire.*

THE great objects of our present delibera-  
tions are: First, The securing a fund of  
money for the present and future exigencies  
of this settlement, as well as the other two presi-  
dencies, no money being expected from Europe.  
And secondly, The putting an end to the di-  
sturbances fomented and kept up by the Shah-  
zada in several parts of these provinces, that the  
whole may be united under the Nabob, and he  
put under the more immediate influence of the  
Company, whose force is his chief support and  
dependence, by this means enabling us to join a  
large body of country troops to our own to op-  
pose any attempts of European or country powers.

The question to be considered is, Whether we  
can best arrive at these ends by following the pre-

sent system of opposing the Shahzada, or by proposing to him an alliance with the English, and the assistance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Delly, and support him in his pretensions to the throne.

(The difficulties on both sides having been considered)

Resolved therefore unanimously, That the entering into an alliance with the Shahzada is a necessary and expedient measure. The president is accordingly desired to press Cossin Aly Cawn on the subject of our expences, and our great distress for money, so as to draw from him some proposal of means for removing those difficulties, by which possibly we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Nabob's consent.

S— *Extract of the Proceedings of a Committee of the 16th of Sept. 1760. Present, Mes. Van Sittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Howell, and M'Gwire.*

THE president acquaints the Committee, that in a long conversation he had last night with Cossin Aly Cawn, he had an opportunity of making some progress towards the discoveries requisite for carrying on the negociation proposed yesterday; and that, without letting him know any thing of our design, he had led him to make such declarations of his desire to have the rule over the Nabob, and the general management of the affairs of the province, as amount almost to a proof of his readiness to act the part intended for him.

After



After telling him much of our regard, and of our opinion of him, as the fittest person for conducting the great affairs of the Bengal government, I began to make him strong representations on the subject of the Company's expences; that the immediate charges of the army far exceeded the sum assigned for that purpose, which sum also was not regularly paid, there being now three or four months arrears; that besides this he could not but be sensible how much the Company gave up in the other parts, for the sake of providing for the security of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and Madras, and sending continually fresh supplies from Europe. I represented to him farther, the great loss the Company had suffered by the long continuance of the present war with the Shahzada, and how much it was to be wished, for the general benefit, that an end could be put to it, so as to enable the Nabob to reduce his expences, and collect his full revenues: of which a great part is now lost by the ravages of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province.

In answer to this, Coffein Aly Cawn replied, that he has it not at present in his power to provide in a proper manner for the supply of the Company; that if we could undertake to give him the general management of the country, by taking it out of the hands of those who are now entrusted with it by the Nabob, he would then make such assignments, in favour of the Company, as should be perfectly to our satisfaction. At the same time he insinuated, that this would undoubtedly meet with opposition at Moorshedabad, and at first prove very disagreeable to the Nabob himself; for which reason, it would be quite necessary to have a force at hand to support him. By which being enabled to over-rule the present evil

counsellors of the Nabob, he could answer for bringing the Nabob himself into such terms as should be agreed on here.

**T**—*Copy of the Treaty concluded between Mr. Van Sittart, and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn.*

I. **T**HE Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income shall be allowed for his expences.

II. The Neabut of the Soubadaree of Bengal, Azimabad, and Orissa, &c. shall be conferred by his excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn. He shall be invested with the administration of all the affairs of the provinces, and after his Excellency he shall succeed to the government.

III. Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, a firm friendship and union is established. His enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

IV. The Europeans and the Seapoys of the English army shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

V. For all charges of the Company, and of the said army, and provisions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong shall be assigned, and Sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted. The Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits

profits of these three countries; and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

VI. One half of the Chunam produced at Sillet for three years shall be purchased by the Gomastahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of that place shall receive no injury.

VII. The ballance of the former Tuncaws shall be paid according to the Kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyan. The jewels which have been pledged shall be received back again.

VIII. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to settle in the lands of the English Company, neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

IX. We will give no protection to the dependents of the Sircar, in the lands or the factories of the Company, neither shall any protection be given to the dependents of the Company in the lands of the Sircar, and whoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

X. The measures for war or peace with the Shahzada, and raising supplies of money, and the concluding both these points, shall be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution; and it shall be so contrived, by our joint counsels, that he be removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shahzada or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Coffim Cawn, we will, by the grace of God, inviolably observe, as long as the English Company's factories continue in this country. Dated the 17th day of the month of Suffur, in the year 1174 of the Hegyra.



V—*Copy of the Select Committee's Instructions to Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Cailaud.*

**A**S some days have already elapsed since the President, at the desire of the Committee, wrote to Mr. Amyatt, of the intended negotiation with the Shahzada, and as one copy of Roydoolub's letter to the Prince has been forwarded by his own people, we may expect, that within fifteen or twenty days from this time, something of it will transpire, and the report spread to Moorshedabad. It is not to be doubted, but that the Nabob will be extremely alarmed at the first news of it, and that those, who now rule him, will use their influence to encrease his fears and suspicions, and to make him as averse as possible to acquiescing in the measures we propose to adopt, and to which Cossim Aly Cawn has acceded. It will be necessary, to have persons commissioned with full powers from hence, and that they be such as will have weight enough on the one part, to keep Cossim Aly Cawn firm to the agreements he has entered into; and on the other, to support him so strongly, as to enable him to over-rule the Nabob, and all his present advisers.

This entire confidence we place in you, empowering you to act, according to your own discretion, in all circumstances that may occur, and the better to enable you to accomplish our intentions, and prevent any disturbance, we have thought proper to make a detachment of two compleat companies of military, a company of artillery with four pieces of cannon, and Captain Tabbay's battalion of Seapoys, who are to act under your orders. This detachment is represented to the Nabob as designed to reinforce the  
army

army at Patna, but it is not our intention, that they shall proceed farther than Cossimbazar, unless the approach of the Burboom, or other disaffected Rajahs, or Jemmadars, should make it necessary to send them out to oppose them.

If the affairs of Patna should not absolutely require the Colonel's immediate proceeding there, we would have him remain at Moorshedabad till this affair shall be settled there, and the government put under the regulation proposed. In which case you will please to forward to Mr. Amyatt the general instructions of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, directed to him and the Colonel, with orders to Captain Knox to co-operate with the chief of Patna, in the execution of the said instructions. When the Colonel proceeds to Patna, Major Yorke will remain with the command of the detachment, and will follow the orders of the governor for his further proceedings.

You will be continually advised of the news we may receive, and of any alteration that may happen here, in order that you may take the necessary measures for sending back the detachment, in case any danger from abroad should threaten the settlement.

W—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart to the Select Committee.*

Dated Cossimbazar, 15 Oct. 1760.

I Came here by easy stages, in order to give time for Cossim Aly Cawn, as well as the detachment, to arrive before me.

Yesterday evening I reached this place, and this morning the Nabob did me the honour of a visit. After the first ceremonies, he desired a private conversation, which he opened by representing the dangerous situation of affairs at Patna, and desiring

desiring the Colonel might be sent back with all possible expedition. This gave me the opportunity of picturing to him the general weak condition of his government, occasioned not so much by the want of means in the country, as by the abuse and evil administration of those to whom he had entrusted the management; that the Colonel's going to Patna, without a large supply of money, would be of no use; and that it is not by temporary remittances of forty or fifty thousand rupees that the present confusion can be remedied, or his affairs carried on in future, but by some general regulation, which may give more confidence to his officers and troops. I described every thing in the worst light I could, in hopes that, by magnifying his difficulties, I might bring him more easily to consent to those measures which we have resolved on. This seemed to operate in the manner I could wish. He said more than once, that he would gladly follow any advice I should propose to him, desired that I would consider the matter fully between this and to-morrow evening, and promised on his part to do the same, and that he would then meet me at Moradbaug, and come to such determination as I shall approve.

Upon the whole, I have great hopes I shall be able to obtain the proposed advantages for the Company. Obtain them, indeed, I will at all events; but I hope, and much wish, to get it done without exerting any force.

*P. S.* Inclosed is a letter from Mr. Amyatt. Troubles must be expected at Patna, until means are found of paying some money to the Nabob's troops. The Nabob's not writing himself, after repeatedly pressing us to do it was very extraordinary; however, I am not sorry at this time to have so striking an instance to urge of the weakness and unsteadiness of his present government.

Wa—The



Wa— *The following is an Extract of Mr. Amyatt's Letter here mentioned.*

Patna, 4 Oct. 1760.

Gentlemen,

“ **T**HE Nabob has not wrote to Rajebul-  
“ lub, and by what Mr. Sykes writes  
“ me, he will not till he has seen Colonel Cail-  
“ laud; but, notwithstanding this, Rajebullub  
“ is very willing and glad to go to Moorsheda-  
“ bad, and wanted to set out immediately. The  
“ army, hearing this, surrounded his house, abu-  
“ sed and used him ill, seized upon his boats, and  
“ for these three days past there has been such a  
“ scene of confusion I cannot express it; the Sea-  
“ poys are no ways under their commander, and  
“ do almost what they please. And this scene is  
“ likely to continue, and probably may end in  
“ Rajebullub's being cut off, or some disaster  
“ upon the city. Nothing but the fear of our  
“ army prevents it; for a trifle will stir them up  
“ to rashness; however, they have obliged him  
“ to swear he will not go, till money or Cossim  
“ Aly Cawn comes; indeed, they will not let him  
“ go, and use him most excessively ill.”

X— *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart  
and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Com-  
mittee.*

Dated Moradbaug, 21 Oct. 1760.

Gentlemen,

**T**HE governor wrote you yesterday of the af-  
fairs here being settled to the Company's  
advantage. We shall now have the honour to  
acquaint you with the steps by which we advanced  
to this point of success. The

The Nabob's visit to the Governor at Cossimbazar the fifteenth of the month, as well as that we paid him the next day in return, passed only in general conversation. The eighteenth, he came here to talk upon business. In order to give him a clear and full view of the bad management of his ministers, by which his own affairs as well as the Company's are reduced to so dangerous a state, and the inhabitants in general to want and misery, we had prepared three letters, which after a short and friendly introduction, the Governor delivered to him, and of which translations are hereunto annexed under No. I, II, and III.

The Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference, than to propose a remedy to the evils. We however prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Moradbaug, and in a manner insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reform of his government. At length, he confessed himself thro' age and grief incapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties, and desired he might have time to consult with his friends. We told him, the men, with whom he had lately advised, were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again, in the midst of them, would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from among his relations, on whose attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely. He named five or six, and among them Cossim Aly Cawn; we asked him, which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies? He replied, without any hesitation, that Cossim Aly Cawn was the most proper. Nevertheless it was with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him

him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Aly Cawn could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that we could not refuse his return home to take his rest. We were convinced, indeed, that it would be to no purpose to keep him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with regard to Cossim Aly Cawn, that we saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs. An hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Cossim Aly Cawn arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the Nabob, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour, by some means or other, to get rid of him. We agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Nabob's house, until measures were taken for his security. We resolved, however, to give the Nabob the next day (the nineteenth) to reflect upon the letters beforementioned, in hopes, that he would propose some means of regulation. We heard nothing from him all day, but found by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers, Keeniran, Moonilaul and Checon, whose advice, we were sure, would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. We determined, therefore, to act immediately upon the Nabob's fears. There could not be a better opportunity than the night of the nineteenth afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined, therefore, that Colonel Caillaud with the two companies of Military and six companies of Seapoys should cross the river, between three and four in the morning, and having



ving joined Cossim Aly Cawn and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break, being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance, or bloodshed. The Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob, (the translation of which is annexed, No. IV.) and delivered it to the Colonel to send it to him, at such time, as he should think most expedient. Measures were at the same time taken, for seizing the persons of Keeniram, Moonilaul, and Checon, our intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and place Cossim Aly Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob. The Governor remained at Moradbaug, in readiness to pay a visit of congratulation to the Durbar, as soon as the point should be settled.

The necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy imaginable, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Aly Cawn, without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace, just at the proper instant. The gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and sent the Governor's letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed by the means of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Lushington, whose services on this occasion deserve notice. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Aly Cawn, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nabit to be stuck up in his name, provided he would agree, to take the whole charge of the govern-

government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the king, to save his life and honour, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Aly Cawn was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring, that he depended on him for his life; and the troops then took possession of all the gates, and notice was sent to the Governor, who came immediately, and the old Nabob met him in the gate-way, asking if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. The Governor told him, not only his person was safe, but his government too if he pleased, of which it never was intended to deprive him. The Nabob answered, that he had no more business at the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Aly Cawn, and that if he was permitted to go and live at Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented. Though we could not help lamenting his sudden fall, we were not sorry for this proposal, as the affairs will doubtless be better managed without him, and the advantages stipulated for the Company be obtained without the least difficulty or delay. Cossim Aly Cawn was accordingly seated on the throne, and we paid him our congratulations in the usual form. All the Jem-maders, merchants and others, residing in the city, came immediately, and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah, and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change. The people in general seem much pleased with this revolution, and we are particularly happy in its having been brought about, without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The

The advantages to the Company are great indeed. The Phirmauns for the countries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, we shall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the Chunam produced at Sillet. A very severe order has already been issued, forbidding all the shroffs and merchants to refuse the Calcutta Siccas, or to ask any Batta on them. A supply of money will be sent with the Colonel for the payment of the troops at Patna, and we have even some hopes of obtaining a present of three or four lacks besides, to send down to Calcutta to help out the Company in their present occasions there, and at Madrafs. The former ballance is to be paid monthly to the old Nabob's Kistbundy.

We are the more pleased with this fortunate event at this time, when the approach of peace in Europe gives us reason to fear the other European nations will find leisure to disturb us here. We shall have now strong resources within ourselves, and an ally whose attachment to the Company may be depended on. The old Nabob could by no means be relied on for such an occasion. Both his means and desire of supporting us were very uncertain, as his behaviour in the Dutch troubles evinced.

The old Nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city. Cossim Aly Cawn supplied him with boats, and gave him leave to take away as many of his women as he desired, and a reasonable quantity of cloaths and jewels. We furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and Seapoys, and intended to lodge him at Heerogeel; but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Moradbaug, which he did accordingly. We shall take care, that Cossim Aly Cawn provides every thing



thing that is convenient and handsome for himself and his women, and settle upon him a sufficient allowance for his maintenance, and then dispatch him with a strong escort to Calcutta. You will please to provide two houses for his reception; there are two belonging to Subiram Bysauc and Raufbery Seet, which the Royroyan occupied when he was at Calcutta; if these can be got, we judge they will answer very well.

His legitimate wife, called the Begum, the mother of the deceased Chuta Nabob, and of Cossim Aly Cawn's wife, refused to accompany the old Nabob, with whom, she says, she has not been in good harmony for a long time past, that she is very glad the government is put into such good hands, and that she shall live much happier with her daughter and son-in-law.

The old Nabob is now pretty easy, and seems to be reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owns to have been rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage since the death of his son, and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seems to be the chief object of his wishes.

Y—No. I. *Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, by the Governor.*

Dated 18 Oct. 1760.

WHEN I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the state of the affairs of this country, and told me, that whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel are well known

known to me, and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on entirely according to the treaty; but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

I. The English forces, who are employed in your service, and in the support of your government at Patna, are kept without their pay.

II. The forces of the government, who are stationed in those parts, are discontented and disaffected to the service for want of their pay.

III. The Seapoys of Moorshedabad had surrounded your palace, in a tumultuous manner, for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life; how deeply I was affected cannot be expressed; God is witness what I felt on that occasion.

IV. I plainly perceived, that the ministers of this court, from their covetous and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, not even with-holding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

V. The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great as was never before known in this country, inasmuch that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress. This can be owing to no other cause but the bad management of your ministers.

VI. Formerly, at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta, and it was your order, that the Siccas of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness as the Siccas of Moorshedabad, should pass for equal value. Notwithstanding your Perwanah for the enforcing this grant, the officers of the provinces have not suffered them to pass, but, contrary to your order, require and insist on a Batta on the Siccas.

VII. The

VII. The war with the Shahzada still continues, notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavours of the English forces. This affair is yet no nearer to a conclusion than the first day. Excepting the fort of Patna, no part of the Bahar province remains in your possession. All the lands and villages are in a state of ruin, and the Zemindars in every place are ready to join the Shahzada's army, as appears from the letter to me to this purpose from Beerboom. From these circumstances it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chuta Nabob. From which time, the ministers of your government, regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of your subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity. When I saw the affairs of the Sircar in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still further to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities, when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country are almost expired. After long consideration, I concluded, that I would make one vigorous trial immediately to remedy all these evils, hoping by God's assistance to surmount all difficulties. For this reason, I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects.



Ya—No. II. *Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, by the Governor.*

Dated 18 Oct. 1760.

**T**HE ministers that are about your person, and who transact your business, are people that are wavering and changing in their councils, as is evident from the Perwanah you frequently sent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Mahrajah Rajebullub, insisting upon his being recalled by some means or other. The Colonel, considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Rajebullub to you; and you sent me a copy of his recommendation in a letter, which you did me the honour to write to me, and said, you was surprized, that the Colonel would recommend a man so very unfit for every business. You also sent me word by the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, and the Royroyan, that the business of the most consequence was to get Rajebullub down from Patna; I therefore, agreeably to your desire, wrote to Mr. Amyatt to send him down. God only knows what counsel your ministers gave, that the Perwanah was deferred being sent; but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna. It is a known maxim, that a government, where the counsels change every day, cannot be well regulated.

Yb—No. III. *Translation of a Letter presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, by the Governor.*

Dated 18 Oct. 1760.

**T**HE important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited upon you, are submitted

ted to your consideration, in a separate address containing seven articles. Now that I am here, this is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity be lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently. Besides the particulars, which I have taken notice of, and the payment of the arrears due to the English troops, and those of the Sircar, it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies. You have already given in pledge jewels for a large amount to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed to in your hand. How this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I do not perceive. The pay allowed for the English army has been limited to a lack of rupees *per* month. As the disturbances in the country have increased every day; for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and in raising Seapoys. On this account, a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your Excellency duly reflect, that your own Seapoys, in the time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have joined with the forces of the enemy; and the English forces, devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct, nor ever will be; and by the blessing of God wherever the English standard has been fixed, they have always proved victorious. Upon this account, it is by no means becoming your wisdom to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary, that for this business your Excellency grant the English Company certain lands sufficient for the pay of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provision of stores, &c. that without any

trouble to yourself all these charges may be defrayed from the produce of those lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service ; otherwise I must submit to necessity. My concern for my own honour will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss, but I must seek some expedients for promoting the interests of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with, and those expedients must be adopted. But if your affliction for the death of your son has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper, that you appoint some capable person, from among your children, in the place and dignity of your said son the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk, who may take charge of all those affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all these difficulties, that your Excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of the transactions, may remain without care and uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

Yc—No. IV. *Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob.*

Dated 19 Oct. at Night.

**I** Have been waiting all this day in expectation, that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs, upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination ; but you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them. From hence it plainly appears, that as long as those evil counsellors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of those



those people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewise of the Company's affairs. I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us for the sake of two or three men. For this reason, I have sent Colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you. When the said Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad counsellors, and place your affairs in a proper state. I will shortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehensions, but chearfully receive the Colonel, and give orders to your men that they commit no disturbances, nor raise tumults in the city. I solemnly declare, that I have no other view but your good and welfare. Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied.

*Z—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart to Mr. Ellis.*

Moradbaug, 22 Oct. 1760.

THE old Nabob set out this morning for Calcutta, escorted by a company of Europeans, and one of Seapoys, under the command of Captain Robertson. I mentioned, in my letter last night, that he would be glad to remain at Chitpour, until the houses are repaired for his reception. You will please to send two of the gentlemen to meet him at the French Gardens, and in every way receive him with a decent respect. He took his leave with great chearfulness, and, I believe, the days of his ease will do him more honour than those of his power, and that he will be much happier; for it shall be my particular care, that he wants for nothing. Every thing is perfectly quiet here; I am waiting to get the Sunnuds, to see how the young Nabob goes on, and to give him a few useful instructions for his guidance. In

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four or five days I hope every thing will be compleat, and that I shall be setting out for Calcutta with a reinforcement for your treasury, such as will enable us to send a supply to Madras, and to keep our investment jogging on here.

A1—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart to Mr. Ellis.*

Moradbaug, 23 Oct. 1760.

**E**Very thing remains perfectly quiet, and the new Nabob does not spare pains to get the affairs regulated. He will have no easy task of it. The balance due to the Seapoys is immense; money found in the treasury none, only gold and silver plate to the amount of two or three lacks, which is ordered to be coined; and the old Nabob's Mattasuddies pretend, that the balance due from them is trifling, that the Nabob spent every thing as fast as it came in, but they do not know how. It was high time for a reform indeed; I do not think it would have been possible for the old Nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder another month. I have engaged Juggutseet's advice and assistance, and will see the Colonel dispatched with a supply of money to Patna, and all other affairs reduced to a system of prudence and oeconomy before I stir from hence.

A1.a.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee.*

Moradbaug, 24 Oct. 1760.

**E**Very thing remains perfectly quiet. The new Nabob applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the

the affection of the people. We went yesterday to the Durbar, when he acquainted us, that he had found in the treasury, of ready money, only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about the value of three lacks in gold and silver plate, which he has ordered to be coined. Keeniram, Moonilaul, and Checon, the principal managers in the late administration, pretend likewise, that the ballances due from them are trifling. The Nabob, however, hopes to oblige them to make further discoveries, and, in the mean time, is endeavouring, with the assistance of Juggutseet, together with the usual presents, advances upon the rents, &c. to raise sufficient to pay off such a proportion of the arrears, as will satisfy the troops at Patna and here, as well as enable him to give the Company such an assistance as is mentioned in our last letter, by way of acknowledgment for their services. The Sunnuds, for the new districts, will be made out upon the arrival of Royroyan, who is expected from Ambor in three or four days.

A1.b— *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee.*

Moradbaug, 3 Nov. 1760.

THE difficulty the Nabob has met with in raising the sums wanted for the supply of the troops here and at Patna, has been the occasion of his deferring the Colonel's dispatch till to-morrow evening.

He will carry with him in bills and money seven lacks of rupees, of which two are for the English army, and two for the Nabob's.

The Nabob having given the Company the Perwanahs for the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor,



poor, and Chittagong from the tenth of October, the allowance of one lack *per* month, stipulated to be paid by the Nabob for the expences of the army in the field must be reckoned from the first of December 1759, to the thirtieth of September 1760, being ten months, or ten lacks of rupees, of which nine and a half lacks have been paid, including the two lacks beforementioned; the remaining half lack the Nabob will remit to the Colonel.

This done, all the future demands of the army must be supplied by the Company. We have engaged Juggutseet to take all opportunities that may offer, of advancing money at Patna, to receive it again at Calcutta, for a premium of two *per Cent*.

The Colonel will do all that he possibly can, consistently with the good of the service, to make the expences of the army light. Indeed, it is not only with this view, but for many other urgent considerations, much to be wished, that an end could be put to the war with the Shahzada. We might almost say, that it is absolutely necessary, for the pay of the troops in the armies of the late Chuta Nabob, and of Ramnarain, amount to so immense a sum monthly, that the revenues of the three provinces would scarce be sufficient fully to answer it. Notwithstanding therefore, the sum now sent by the Nabob, and all the future supplies, he may be able to furnish, the arrears can never be paid off, but, on the contrary, must continue growing.

For a disorder so desperate, what remedy is to be found? The most we can hope is, to palliate and prevent its increase, and endeavour, in the mean time, to bring our business to a conclusion. The Colonel, upon his arrival at Patna, will immediately take the field, and seek the Shahzada, to oblige him, either to come to terms of accommodation,

modation, or venture a battle. With regard to the reduction of the Nabob's troops, the Colonel will take such measures, upon his arrival, as he shall judge most eligible.

*A1,c—Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messrs. Ellis, Sumner, and M'Gwire) to Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud.*

Dated 24 Oct. 1760.

WE have been honoured with your favour of the twenty-first, and one from the President of the twentieth instant; by which we have been informed of the great success that has attended your operations. We most heartily congratulate you on your having amply effected the intended purposes without the effusion of blood or any disturbance, and are highly pleased to find the Nabob so well reconciled to his present situation. We doubt not, but what has been so well begun, will be concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Company, and that the affairs of the government will in future be put on a secure and proper footing.

We have given the necessary directions for the reception and accommodation of the old Nabob, whenever he arrives at Calcutta.

A few days, we flatter ourselves, will bring this matter to a conclusion, and that we shall very shortly have the pleasure of the Governor's presence with us.

*A1,d—Copy*

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A1,d— *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Dated 24 Oct. 1760.

**I** Had the honour to address you last night, and this evening was favoured with your's of the twenty-first instant, inclosing a letter to the Committee. I most heartily congratulate you on the success of your negotiations, but must, at the same time lament the necessity you have been under of deposing the old Nabob. Directions are given to prepare the two houses you mentioned for his reception, and in case he should arrive before they are put in proper order, Mr. Sumner will accommodate him for a day or two at Chilpore.

A1,c — *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to Mr. Van Sittart.*

25 Oct. 1760.

**I**T is with much pleasure, I hear of the tranquillity that reigns in the city; such a revolution with so little disturbance scarce ever happened, and I dare say, Sir, there will be nothing wanting, on your part, to place this tranquillity on a lasting and solid foundation.

B1.— *Copy of Mr. Verelst's Minute of the eighth of November, to which Mr. Smyth assented.*

**M**R. Verelst begs leave to observe, that the board has been till now kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee relating to the present revolution, and their motives for it, he therefore cannot pretend to judge,



judge, how far such a step was necessary, but thinks, that, in an affair of such immediate consequence to the Company's estates in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole board should have been first had; that a treaty executed in the most solemn manner subsisted between Meer Jaffier and Us, the most faithful adherence to which, as well as all other our engagements, has preserved that influence and power we have maintained ever since the recapture of Calcutta, a steadiness to which treaty made the British admired, nay even courted by every prince throughout these provinces, and has ever been fatal to the Prince apparent of the Empire, and many other disturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavoured to engage us to break through those solemn ties we were sworn to. As this sudden change must alarm every one to find us so unexpectedly breaking through all our engagements, which were so publick, reputable, and to the honour of the nation, he cannot be blamed as a member of the board for expressing his dissatisfaction at being made a cypher of in so critical a concern.

Regarding these objections, as chiefly to have proceeded from those gentlemen not being fully acquainted with the motives of the Select Committee's resolutions, the President only made the following reply.

C1.—*Copy of Mr. Van Sittart's Reply to the foregoing Minute.*

THE President begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minute, that though Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smyth might, without the least presumption, think, that they and the rest of the gentlemen of the council ought to have been consulted, upon an affair of so much importance, before

before it was carried into execution, yet their venturing to condemn or approve, before they know the nature of the engagements entered into, the reasons why, or the manner in which the whole was conducted, seems rather premature, especially as they will have an opportunity of so soon making themselves competent judges, the whole being now ordered to be laid before the board, as mentioned in the former part of their minute.

The reason, why the whole council was not before informed, was, that it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy, and it is expressly for the conduct of such affairs, that the Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a Select Committee. To the secrecy, which was observed, may, in great measure, be attributed the speedy and easy success which attended the execution, and the preventing all disturbance and loss of blood.

DI.—*Copy of a Memorial on the Subject of the Revolution in the Bengal Government, in the Year 1760.*

THE Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaritious, and at the same time very indolent; and the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal. He attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy to the excess of his jealousy. Numberless are the instances of men of all degrees, whose blood he spilt without the least assigned reason. To learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers would be a work of time, but

but some of the most striking examples are these following.

Coja Haddee, the first Buxy, first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shabad in his march out of the province.

Meer Cazim, the second Buxy, invited by the Chuta Nabob to his house, and, after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace.

Abdal Ohab Cawn murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March 1760, by some of the Hircarahs belonging to Checon, who way-laid him for that purpose, by the Nabob's orders.

Yâr Mahmud, formerly in great favour with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, and since Droga of the Emârut, slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April 1760.

Gasseeta Begum, widow of the Nabob Shahâmut Jung.

Emma Begum, mother to the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

Murâda Dowla, the son of Pâdshâ Couli Cawn, adopted by Shahâmut Jung.

Lutfen Nissa Begum, widow of the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

Her infant daughter by Serâjah Dowla.

The five unhappy sufferers, mentioned last, perished all in one night at Dacca, about the month of June 1760, where they had been detained prisoners, since the accession of Jaffier Aly Cawn to the government. A Perwana was sent to Jessârut Cawn, the Nabob of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabobs, Aliverde Cawn, Shahamut Jung, and Serajah Dowla; but, upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had  
private



private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, took them from the place of their confinement, carried them out at midnight upon the river, and massacred and drowned them, with about seventy women of inferior note, and attendants. What became of Aliverdi Cawn's widow is uncertain, it being reported by many, that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family.

Executions of this kind had made the Nabob the dread, or the detestation of all good men, and he necessarily became a prey to people of mean extraction and abject dispositions, who knowing, that a government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich by oppressions of all sorts upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes, laid by them on the markets, is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearness of provisions at the city, the capital of a country once esteemed the most plentiful in the world. The persons, who have had the chief share in this bad management, are Keeneram, Monilol, and Checon, all of low birth; and the two first the menial servants of Jaffier Aly Cawn, before he came to the Subaship. These managed so as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements, keeping him, by that means, in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury, at the same time nothing was paid to his army, inso-much that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace, in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life, which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of his own treasury. This happened last June, and if the  
imminent

imminent danger, with which his person was threatened, on this occasion, awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it removed again to a distance than he fell back into the lethargy, which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that, in all human appearance, another month could hardly have run through, before he would have been cut off by his own Seapoys, and the city have become a scene of plunder and disorder, the Nabob having made no farther provision for the payment of the arrears due to his people, after Cossim Aly Cawn had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions of it, yet had not the power to exert the necessary means for preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection.

Besides this intestine danger, to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only the fair weather to advance; the Shahzada towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Moorsshedabad the capital. The Rajahs of Bissenpoor, Ramgur, and the other countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependence, and had offered considerable supplies to the Beerboom Rajah. The Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Banglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed quite ripe for an universal revolt, those parts only excepted, whose natural weakness or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them

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from

from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected. Of this a very recent instance occurs in the detachment, which was ordered against the Beerboom Rajah three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three coss from the city, in which situation they continued upon my arrival there.

All who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transactions of the government will bear witness, that this is a true description of facts; and all who are convinced of the facts will certainly agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined. I was resolved, therefore, to use my utmost endeavours to get these bad ministers removed, and judging it might be difficult to prevail with the Nabob to part with his favourites, without some degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and Seapoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna. . . . .

(Here follows, an account of the Revolution, as has been already related, in the letters from Mr. Van Sittart and Colonel Caillaud at Moradbaug.)

. . . . . Cossim Aly Cawn supplied the Nabob with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to the number of about sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. . . . . In the morning of the twenty-second of October, he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the twenty-ninth. He was met by a deputation from the Council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.



Et.—*Copy of Mr. Amyatt's Minute, to which Mes. Ellis and Smyth assented.*

MR. Amyatt takes this opportunity to observe, that he is of opinion, the reasons given for deposing Jaffier Aly Cawn (for he can look upon it in no other light) are far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith; consequently, in the eyes of the world, the whole odium of such a proceeding must retort upon ourselves. The cruelties, of which he is accused, must, to a civilized government, appear shocking; but in despotic ones, there are none entirely free from instances of this kind, as their own fears and jealousies are ever prompting them to such unwarrantable actions, and it is well known, that the present Nabob has already fallen into the same severities, as likewise, that he has shewn marks of favour to those ministers, who, we are told, “saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily snatched “at every occasion to reduce it.” Meer Jaffier's being confirmed, by the Court of Delly, in the Soubaship, was a very valuable consideration, which ought not to have been overlooked, because, whenever that distracted state is restored to peace and tranquillity, he being legally in possession of the government, would of course be confirmed by the reigning king without hesitation; whereas the obtaining so great a favour for Cossim Aly Cawn must be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty subsisting between Us and Cossim Aly Cawn plainly shews, that his sole aim, at the time of entering into it, was the Subadarry of Bengal, otherwise, how ridiculous was it for him, to make a promise of ceding certain countries to the Company,

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which

which his post of Duan could never have given him the power of executing. The great advantages expected to accrue from those countries, it is feared, will prove entirely imaginary, as it is now near three months since this revolution was effected, and yet so far from any appearance of extricating ourselves from our difficulties as expected, we are involved in fresh troubles every day, which will not appear strange, when we cast our eyes upon the person we have raised to the Musned, whose character was never conspicuous in any light till lately, and whose treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law leaves us very little hopes of his attachment to our interest; nor indeed can it be expected, that he will place any confidence in us, who have assisted to dethrone a man we were bound to support by the most solemn ties, divine and human. Such a breach of faith must necessarily occasion the loss of our influence in this country, and bereave us of the superiority, which our steady adherence to our promise, ever gave us over these people. For the above reasons, Mr. Amyatt dissents to the whole transactions, and farther declares, that he never was consulted, nor advised with, concerning it, nor did he know, that it was ever intended, till publick report had informed him of its execution.

FI.—*The Governor, Colonel Caillaud, and the other Gentlemen of the Council, who did, and still continue to approve of the late Transactions with the Country Government, beg leave to offer a few Observations upon Mr. Amyatt's Minute of last Consultation; the Tenor of which might deceive the World, if not examined, but when examined will be found to have little Foundation.*

IF the Select Committee, debating upon the dangerous state of the affairs of the province, in August and September last, had been desirous of breaking with the then Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, there were reasons enough to justify, nay, to urge such a resolution. The letter, which the former Governor Mr. Holwell laid before the Select Committee, the fourth of August, for the information of Mr. Van Sittart, then just arrived, contains more than sufficient proofs of that Nabob's breach of his engagements to the Company. Many instances are mentioned of his jealousy of the English power, and of his refusal of every favour that was asked him, which might tend to encrease it. We have, in our hands, an authentic proof of one most essential instance of his ill faith therein mentioned. It is said in the treaty, that our enemies should be his enemies, but it is beyond doubt, that he urged the Dutch to send for forces to oppose ours. We have an original letter of the Directore to the Nabob, which plainly implies, that it was with his consent those troops were sent for, and the tenor of the general advices transmitted to Europe last season sufficiently shews this was Colonel Clive's opinion, though he mentioned it with all possible tenderness.



ness. Nor, if we had desired to remove Jaffier Aly Cawn from the government, need we have done more than withdrawn our protection. His government would soon have been put an end to, and probably his life also, which was more than once in extreme danger from his own people.

But, mindful of the connections that had been between him and the Company, we had the most tender regard both for his person and government, neither of which could have subsisted without other supports than those he had about him. After the unfortunate death of his son, his son-in-law Cossim Aly Cawn was the proper person to succeed to the government; and, being his nearest relation, it was thought his counsel and assistance would be the least obnoxious. But if, on the other hand, he should have determined to admit of no one near him, and continually refuse every application for the advantage of the Company, and even common justice in the performance of past agreements, would it have been expedient to sacrifice the interest of the Company, and the prospect of relieving the province from its distressed state to the invincible jealousy of one man? And might we not, with more reason, place our past services in the scale against the benefits received from him, and pursue with steadiness the plan determined on, as most for the welfare of the country in general, and of the Company in particular?

That Cossim Aly Cawn had views of the Subaderry for himself, when he entered into the treaty with us, is beyond all doubt; but they were views in reversion, not immediate. In the mean time he engaged, that, through the influence we were to give him over the old Nabob, he would obtain for the Company the grants therein mentioned.

But

But it is insinuated in Mr. Amyatt's Minute, that our affairs are in a worse condition now than before the change of the government. That the addition of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong to the Company's possessions, without the loss of a man, is a hurt to the Company, seem to me a paradox. It is said, that it is near three months since the revolution was effected, and yet there is no appearance of extricating ourselves from the difficulties, and that the great advantages expected to accrue from those countries will prove, it is feared, merely imaginary. It is only twenty days since the Burdwan Vackeel came here, and settled the payment. This day is the first payment due, and, although the Rajah's faith is not to be depended upon, yet, it is probable, he will pay the money, according to the agreement, to make his peace; if not, the country is worth that and more money, and lies so convenient, that it can always be disposed of as we see best.

As to Midnapore, it is not a month since Captain White took possession, and he had no orders to collect money. Mr. Johnstone is appointed for that purpose, but set out so lately that his arrival is not yet heard of.

And for Chittagong, Mr. Verelst and the other gentlemen appointed set out only twenty days ago. We must give them time to arrive before we can expect to collect money.

Surely, here is a fair prospect of advantages accruing to the Company, and of present benefits, instances may also be mentioned.

“ The payment of the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and of what we advanced to the Nabob's troops.

“ An assistance to the Company of five lacks, which Mr. Batson at Cossimbazar is now receiving.

“ Leave granted for coining Moorshedabad  
 “ Siccas in our mint, which was before confined  
 “ to Calcutta Siccas.

“ Who would there have been to oppose the  
 “ march of the Beerboom Rajah to the capital  
 “ of Moorshedabad? For the old Nabob had  
 “ neither the means of making his own troops  
 “ take the field, nor would he trust the English.

“ Where would the Nabob's troops at Patna  
 “ have got a supply of seven or eight lacks of  
 “ rupees, as the present Nabob has paid them  
 “ since his coming to the government?”

We believe no one will pretend to say, the old Nabob would or could have made such efforts, or would have granted such favours to the Company.

As to the Mogul's Firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delly had some weight at Bengal, but that time is no more. It is hard to say, who is king at Delly, or who will be, but if ever it comes to be settled, there is little doubt of Cossim Aly Cawn's getting a Firmaun with as much ease as one was procured for the old Nabob, who never paid the king his share of the revenues.

It is asserted, that the ministers complained of under the old Nabob have received marks of favour from the present Nabob. Two of them have received the compliments of a Kellaar, or address upon the adjustment of their accounts, but are in no employ or trust. If they were, it would not be in their power to do now the same injuries to the Company and the country, as they did in the old Nabob's time; because the present Nabob would not be so easily led, or give ear to their evil counsels, as his predecessor.

It is asserted also, that the present Nabob has been guilty of some assassinations. This the Governor believes is a false report. He declares,  
 that



that he had not before heard of any such proceeding, although he has pretty good intelligence of what passes, and that he has enquired particularly since he saw it so positively asserted, and has great reason to think it is an unjust accusation. If it should prove true, we should not so easily excuse a crime so shocking, nor think of it so lightly as it is represented in Mr. Amyatt's Minute. \*

That Mr. Smyth should subscribe to this opinion, is not to be wondered at, because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr. Verelst's in consultation of the eighth of November, without having read any of the proceedings. But that Mr. Ellis should subscribe to it, after signifying his approbation of the measures in many letters that have been wrote on the subject, and particularly in one from the Select Committee to the Governor, and Colonel Caillaud, dated the twenty-fourth of November, is somewhat surprizing, and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has been long suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service, nor having any regard for the Company, are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them, by which unfortunately they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves; and this authority they exert to the utmost, to the purpose of making divisions in the settlement, and more particularly in the Council.

\* *N. B.* It afterwards appeared, that there was no foundation for Mr. Amyatt's assertion. The pretended sufferers were, a son of Sirferauz Cawn (Nabob of Bengal twenty years ago) and the widow of Aliverdy Cawn, (the next Nabob after Sirferauz Cawn). Upon enquiry I found, that these two persons, instead of having suffered any violence, were obliged to the Nabob's benevolence for a handsome maintenance, upon which they lived at their ease, instead of being reduced to beg, which was their case before.

Council. It is only such pens as those that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of "all ties human and divine." A reproach, which nothing can merit, but a premeditated intention to do some great ill.

It were to be wished, in dissents of this nature, that the reasons, for the measures formed, were considered in their full extent, the situation of the Company at home, and the situation of their affairs in general well weighed. All these, in as full a manner as possible, were laid before the board, and our necessities and wants so plainly appeared, that all members present were satisfied and convinced, that unless some other measures were pursued, we could not keep up the cause any longer. It was plain, that what was proposed to be done was rather the effect of necessity than choice, and what followed was certainly unexpected. It was therefore impossible, that Mr. Amyatt could be made acquainted with a design that never existed. Those to whose consideration it fell were unanimous in their opinion, and they flatter themselves, that all who will take into their view the then state of affairs, the nature of the resolutions taken, and all the circumstances attending this transaction, and will judge thereupon with candour, not suffering themselves to be biased by the prejudices of others, will do us more justice, and be far from calling in question our sense of the faith of treaties, or our regard for the nation's honour, and our own.

GI.—*Copy of Mr. Ellis's Minute of the sixteenth of January 1761.*

**M**R. Ellis thinks it incumbent on him to reply to that part of the Governor's, &c.'s Minute

Minute entered in last Monday's consultation, where such surprize is expressed at his dissent, after signifying his approbation of the late measures, in many letters that have been wrote on the subject. Mr. Ellis has carefully perused, and yet cannot find, that his approbation is any where signified, not even in that (particularly quoted) of the twenty-fourth of November, unless a complimentary congratulation can, in any ways, be construed as an approval of the design, a light in which he flatters himself no impartial judge can look upon it. His sentiments with regard to the revolution have never altered, nor have they ever been kept a secret; but he conceives, there was no absolute necessity they should appear upon the face of the consultation till now, when it became so for his own justification to his employers.

The reflection of his being influenced in his opinion by others, though not of so good a turn of mind as himself, is a compliment to his morals at the expence of his capacity, which being merely personal, and quite foreign to the subject in hand, might as well have been spared; and, in answer thereto he only wishes, that, for the good of the settlement, others in power were as little influenced, in the management of public affairs by the opinion of those about them, as he himself.

H1.—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee to Major Carnac.*

9 Feb. 1761.

WE observe, that when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of last year, he had particular instructions from Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Committee, to protect Ramnarain, in case of the Nabob's making



making any attempt against his person or honour. We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain; but should it prove otherwise, it is our resolution to have the same regard to the former engagements in his favour as was then designed, and therefore direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice, that may be offered to his person, honour or fortune.

As to Rajebullub, he can have no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or such person as he shall appoint, that a just statement being made of all the monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due inquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid, the ballance, that is found due, may then be discharged, and Rajebullub be employed again, or not, as the Nabob thinks proper. This the Nabob declares is all he asks, and in this (as it is just and reasonable) you will yield him all the necessary assistance.

II.—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.*

24 Feb. 1761.

**Y**OU may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the assistance in my power, to settle every thing in the province in the best manner. I will also very readily lend my assistance, in the adjusting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullub, as far as he means to act fairly by them; but should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken; the English forces, while I have the

the honour of commanding them, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression.

Your directions, in regard to Ramnarain, shall be religiously observed. I could not have received any order, from you with more pleasure than this, of protecting a person, for whom, I know Colonel Clive had a particular regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shewn to them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob.

KI.—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mef. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Ellis, and Sumner) to Major Carnac.*

7 March 1761.

WE imagine the Nabob has, before this time, reached Patna. By his conduct hitherto, we see no reason to apprehend his engaging in any acts of violence or injustice; nor if he should, is it our desire you should support him in them. Our directions for your conduct, with respect to him, are only these; that you give him the assistance he may apply for, to reduce to obedience such Zemindars as have been disaffected to the government of Moorshedabad, and to enable him to establish securities in the several countries of the Bahar province, and collect the revenues due therefrom; and, in regard to Rajebullub, and all others, who have had the management of the public monies, or the payment of the troops, or otherwise have accounts to settle with the government, as their disposition to make use of the protection of the English, to screen them from a just and usual examination, is well known,  
you

you will be careful not to give them countenance or encouragement, so far as to put it in their power, to make an ill use of your name and authority; but, on the contrary, if any shall obstinately and unreasonably persist in refusing to settle accounts with the government, you are to give the Nabob the assistance, he may require, for compelling them to it.

LI.—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.*

Patna, 6 March 1761.

THE Nabob continues encamped at Bykuntpoor, about six or seven coss off, where I have waited upon him. Whatever good qualities he may have, courage is not one of them. He betrayed the most shameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy Prince is reduced so low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear. Not thinking himself sufficiently secure with the large force he brought up with him, he sent for, without acquainting me, both Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Comgar Cawn's country, with a detachment from our army, under the command of Captain Champion. I no sooner heard this than I recalled Captain Champion likewise, which has given the Nabob great offence; so great, that he asked me in the public Durbar, whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the President? I answered him, I would; so far as I was well persuaded Mr. Van Sittart expected from me, who did not mean, that I was to pay him an implicit obedience. I farther told him, that the direction of the English forces was left with me, and that it was not reasonable any part  
of



of them should remain in a country, with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people. I have however, at his request, ordered Captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Bahar, but shall call them in entirely, unless he sends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them, the neglect whereof will infallibly bring Comgar Cawn from out of his hills again. The Nabob next asked me, whether I looked upon him as Subadar of these provinces, and was willing to assist him as such? In answer to which, I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could consistent with honour and justice, that farther I would not do for him or any man. The very question gives me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make of me; should this be the case, he will undergo the mortification of a denial. . . . I parted from the Nabob yesterday evening. We were both, you will judge, pretty much dissatisfied with each other; he with me, for speaking my mind so freely to him, a thing very unprecedented in this country; and I with him, for the delays and obstructions he is likely to cause to our military operations.

Mr. ——— *Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 13 March 1761.

ON the twenty-sixth of Rejub, I arrived at Bykuntpoor, where I had the pleasure of meeting Major Carnac, Mharajah Ramnarain, and Mharajah Rajebullub. Among other things the Major told me, that he had sent for the troops which were at Gaunty, in the Zemindary of Comgar Cawn. I replied, that to chastize Comgar

gar Cawn was no difficult matter, but that it was not proper to recall the troops belonging to the Company and myself, in so much haste, from the place where they were stationed. This he did not consent to; but replied, that he would certainly send for his English troops. I delivered your letter to him; when he perused it, he said, that Mr. Van Sittart is two hundred coss from hence, and that he would do whatever he thought adviseable. I was persuaded, that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine that he would have given me such an answer.

The Select Committee hoping, by a farther explanation of their intentions, to prevent any more disputes wrote Major Carnac as follows:

NI.— *Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mess. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Ellis, and Sumner) to Major Carnac.*

17 March 1761.

**W**E have received your favour of the sixth, such part thereof as relates to the Shahzada, we shall fully reply to, in an address to yourself, and Mr. M'Gwire.

We are extremely concerned, to see the disagreeable circumstances that passed, at your first interview, with the Nabob, especially as such a want of confidence shewn in a public Durbar cannot fail to hurt both parties in the eyes of the world. We hope, a longer acquaintance will create a greater harmony, which we must earnestly recommend both to you and the Nabob, as the public service must suffer, if any difference subsist, for those are never wanting who will seek to make their advantage by it.

It

It is certainly right, and conformable to our inclinations, that the disposition of the army, and the determination on all military matters, should rest with our commanding officer. The Nabob's sending for Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, without first consulting you, was a very imprudent step, and much to be blamed, and, perhaps, may have been attended with bad consequences to his own affairs, as it seems to have been in the power of Comgar Cawn to have returned to his own country. We cannot suppose the Nabob had any such view, because it is evidently his own loss; but whatever his reasons might be, he ought certainly to have acquainted you with them, and we doubt not but he will be sensible, from your representations, how much his own interest depends on following your advice in all military matters. On the other hand, it is our intention, that you comply with his request in every thing respecting the regulation of the country, and the collection of the revenues. Any detachments he may ask for such services, you are to grant, unless you have reason to judge, that the safety of our troops will be at too great a risk. We think this distinction sufficiently clear, and flatter ourselves that no disputes can hereafter arise.

Soon after this, Colonel Coote arrived in Bengal, and was appointed to take the command of the army at Patna. He accordingly set out the twenty-second of April, and the following instructions were given him by the Select Committee.



Q1.—*Extract of Instructions from the Select Committee, (Mef. Van Sittart, Coote, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote.*

21 April 1761.

**S**UCH assistance, as the Nabob may be in need of, to collect the balances due to the Sircar, we desire you will be pleased to yield him.

We are advised by Major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabob and Ramnarain relative to the accounts of the Patna province. We hope this may be amicably and reasonably adjusted, and request you will give your assistance towards it as much as possible. As Ramnarain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of his protection, with respect to his person, fortune, and government, we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice; and farther, that the government of Patna be preserved to him, if it is his inclination to continue in it. It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done, by representing to the Nabob the obligations we are under to Ramnarain, and preventing, by that means, the necessity of any forceable measures.

P1.—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mef. Van Sittart, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote.*

28 April 1761.

**T**HE Nabob has made various representations to us of the difficulties he meets with in settling his accounts with Ramnarain. As, on the

the one hand, we are inclined to support Ramnarain in the government of Patna, with all its just advantages; so, on the other, we would protect the Nabob in the respect and authority due to him, and afford him every assistance for the collection of his revenues, without which it is impossible he can pay the arrears of his troops, or support the other charges of his government. The nature of the differences between them seems to be such as can only be adjusted by arbitration; and, for this determination, we can pitch upon no other person so well qualified as yourself. We therefore request, that you will make this business one of the first articles of your attention, and when you are yourself acquainted with the merits of the cause, you will transmit them to us with your sentiments thereon.

QI.—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mess. Van Sittart, Amyatt and Ellis) to Colonel Coote and Mr. McGwire.*

8 May 1761.

**W**E desire you, gentlemen, will use your utmost endeavours to adjust the accounts between the Nabob and Ramnarain, in such manner as shall appear to you most equitable, and so that the revenues may be duly collected, and the balances not be lost to the Sircar and the public service.

Upon the news of Colonel Coote's arrival, Major Carnac determined to quit Patna, and wrote so to the Select Committee, in the following terms.

54 ORIGINAL PAPERS

R1. — *Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.*

8 May 1761.

**A**S Colonel Coote is coming to the army, who is so very able to take charge both of your military and political concerns, there will be no farther occasion for my services; and as I have great reason to believe I shall return to Europe the next season, unless something unforeseen should happen, I am to request the favour of your permission to apply to Colonel Coote for leave to go to Calcutta on his arrival. I should not make this request so early, but that I am desirous to be there in time, that, in case I go home (which is highly probable) I may be able to get myself ready to take the opportunity of the first conveyance.

S1. — *Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 12 April 1761.

**T**Hrough the instigations of the disaffected, the ties of friendship are broken between the Major and me. He gives me such orders as it is not in my power to comply with, and will not listen to the answers I make him. For several days it has been reported, that the Shah will march from hence, and the Major told me to-day that he would accompany him to the Currumnassa, and desired, I would let Mharajah Ramnarain proceed with him, and that I would give the Shah two lack of rupees more for his way charges. I replied, that Mharajah Ramnarain was the commander of this country, and that it was necessary he should stay to regulate the affairs.

S1.a — *Extract*



*Si.a— Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 28 April 1761.

**I** Before heard of the imprudence and evil intentions of Ramnarain, but since my arrival at Patna, I have seen nothing but baseness and deceit; and therefore Major Carnac is displeased with me, and has sent me such messages by Mr. Lushington, as it is not in my power to comply with. Till this time, I did not think it necessary to acquaint you of the whole affair; but the business is now going out of my hands, and through the wickedness of my enemies my affairs will be ruined. It is necessary for me to acquaint you with all particulars, and to desire your advice. . . . From what the Major wrote me, I imagine he is displeased. Inclosed, I send you two of his letters for your perusal. I am much surprised, that though you wrote to the gentlemen to be in friendship with me, and follow my advice, yet they act in such a manner, that I have no power over my own Naib; and then what other business can I carry on? Now Colonel Coote is coming, and Major Carnac is on good terms with him. Doubtless, you have properly represented to him, that, according to the first agreement, whoever remains in this Province, on the part of the Company, is to be my ally, and act agreeable to my desire. Take care, that what regulations I think proper to make in this Province, may be consented to by the gentlemen, or else give me orders to deliver the affairs of the Province into their hands.

**Sl.b**—*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 30 April 1761.

**Y**OU acquaint me, that I must rest satisfied; and put an end to the business, and that I must not be under any apprehensions from the misrepresentations of others. . . . Before my arrival here, I understood, that the affairs of the Province were ruined, and that Ramnarain acted contrary to my interest; but, since my arrival, I have been an eye-witness of it. . . . And Ramnarain, by his deceits, has brought the Major over to his interest, and it was through his representations, that the Major sent Mr. Lushington so often to me to desire I would give him leave to depart. Ramnarain well knowing, that the Major accompanied the Shah, was desirous of going with him, because his paying the money due from him, and giving me an account of his concerns would be delayed by that means.

**Sl.c**—*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 15 June 1761.

**Y**OU have several times wrote to me to procure a Sunnud for the Subadarry. In consequence of your letters, I drew up an address to his Majesty, when he had intentions of proceeding to Delly with his royal standard, and I wanted to present it, and get it signed by his Majesty, but Colonel Coote would not consent to it, and therefore I deferred it.

**Sl.d**—*Ex-*

Si.d—*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Received 16 June 1760.

THE seventeenth of Shevaul I went with Colonel Coote to visit his Majesty, who was at Derryopoor, about four coss to the westward of Patna. . . . In consequence of your letter, I carried with me the paper relating to my own affairs, and the Sunnud for the Subadarry to get it signed, but that day the Colonel would not consent to it, and therefore I deferred it.

Si.e—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

THE state of affairs here is as follows. You were pleased to intimate to me, that I should examine the accounts of Mharajah Ramnarain; in consequence of which, I appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the said accounts in the presence of Colonel Coote; and sent word to Mharajah Ramnarain of the resolutions taken by the Council. He replied, that he would consider upon it, and give an answer, and for four or five days Mharajah Rajebullub constantly attended the Colonel, in order to examine the papers. Yesterday Ramnarain made this answer to the Colonel; "I will not oppose the order of the Council; and now that ye say the Nabob is my master, I will attend upon, and confer with him." Last night the Colonel came to my tent, and told me, that he had received no orders from the Council for the dismissal of Ramnarain, that I might make a scrutiny into his accounts, and if he was convicted of any misconduct, and the Council's orders should authorize



thorize it, he should be dismissed, but without this, it could, by no means, be done; and Mr. Watts came to me with Rajebullub, in the name of the Colonel, and proposed the confirmation of Comgar Cawn, with many other demands, and said several unbecoming things, which I think not fit to repeat; in fact, I have no power in any one affair of the government. . . . The Colonel desires me to go into the Kella. How can I go to the Kella without any authority, and whilst my enemy is in full possession? When I talk of going to Moorshedabad, he replies, that Shuja Dowla is at hand, and adds, that I pay no regard to his words. I answer, "In the name of God, in what instance have I been, or am I deficient? Do you take the Provinces of Bengal and Bahar into your own hands, and make me accountable for all that I have received these seven months past." But nothing that I say is complied with. I have no reliance on any one but you, and none else can conduct my affairs. There is a just demand on Mharajah Ramnarain of large sums, on account of the last four years. If I make an inquiry into his accounts, I shall receive a large supply of money. Norwithstanding this, I remain here wearied out, and involved in vexations. The army murmurs on account of the dearness of grain, and the subjects are reduced, by their disorders, to the most fatal extremities. The wretch sits here fomenting dissensions, and giving my life and fortune a prey to my Seapoys. For God's sake, let not go my hand in the middle of the Sea, but assist me as you have always done, and write in the most pressing terms to the Colonel, and send an order of the Council, that he oppose not the removal of the Naib of this place,

place, and leave the country now in my hands. After this, I will finish all the accounts.

*Si. f.—Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mef. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Ellis, and Sumner) to Colonel Coote. \**

18 June 1761.

**W**E hope our advice has had some effects upon Ramnarain; it seems, however, by his delays in settling accounts, upon the footing directed in our joint letter to yourself and Mr. M'Gwire, dated the seventeenth of last month, that he is endeavouring, by evading the delivery of his accounts, to preserve his own authority over the Subalhip, and prevent the Nabob collecting any money. It is neither equitable nor expedient to suffer any more of the revenues to be lost; but while the old accounts are under examination, let the Nabob place his own people to collect all the growing rents, and to call the Zemindars to account for their balance, and let Ramnarain's power be suspended until his accounts are settled, and a computation of the rents transmitted us, with the Nabob's proposals, for our determination, as desired in our before-mentioned letter.

The speedy execution of this is the more necessary, as our only dependence, for supplying the army with money, is from the Nabob's balance of about eight lacks, which we have desired him to pay to the Chief and Council at Patna, but which, in his letter to the President, received last night, he says, it is impossible for him to do, nor, indeed, to pay his own troops, until his Amuldars are put in possession of the growing revenues,

\* *N. B.* Mef. Amyatt and Ellis dissented to this letter.

venues, and he is fully supported in calling Ram-narain to an account of his administration, as well as collecting the ballance due from the Zemindars. He adds, in the same letter, "I have not now the power of collecting a single rupee."

In another letter, received at the same time, and of which inclosed is a copy, he speaks of an application made to him, in behalf of Comgar Cawn, and other recommendations of the same nature; he complains, of the unbecoming manner in which these applications have been made, and represents the bad effects such protections have upon his authority. As he leaves us in the uncontrouled possession of the countries made over to the Company, so neither ought we to interfere in his disposition of those remaining under his jurisdiction, nor, indeed, is it consistent with the treaty subsisting between the Nabob and the Company, or the good government of the country. You will be pleased to let the Nabob settle all the affairs of his dependence as he thinks fit, and only grant him, upon his application, such military assistance as he may require, and the state of our army permit.

*Si.g—Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

*Dated 16 June 1761.*

**S**INCE the arrival of Colonel Coote, agreeably to your directions, esteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendship, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto. After his arrival here, he spoke to me, in the following manner, concerning the king's affairs, "That as long as he should remain here, I should consent to allow him



“ him a lack of rupees monthly for his expences;  
“ and that, when he should go to Delly, I should  
“ consent to dismiss him with twelve lacks of  
“ rupees, and a few troops.” These articles,  
for the Colonel’s satisfaction, I was under a necessity of consenting to, and I went to his Majesty, and acquainted him, that I would be answerable for these conditions; but he would not consent to it. Afterwards, the Colonel directed me to pay him, beside what I before gave him, fifty thousand rupees. Agreeable, therefore, to the Colonel’s desire, I gave him the said sum, by the means of Mharajah Ramnarain, besides what I paid before. His Majesty made no stay here, but determined to proceed to Delly, and is now on his march that way. When his Majesty was departing, I spoke to the Colonel concerning the obtaining of the Sunnuds; but he was not satisfied, and forbid me. I was under a necessity of acquiescing in his pleasure, and deferred it, nor mentioned it again. Royshitabroy, who was appointed for the negotiation of affairs at his Majesty’s court, always endeavours to throw things into confusion; I frequently desired the Colonel to dismiss him as an incendiary, and appoint another in his place; but he would not listen to it. Ever since the Colonel came here to this time, I have regarded what he said and directed, as of the greatest importance, and have done every thing according to his will. In order to gain his friendship, I have looked upon every thing he said as of the greatest consequence, making it a principal point to establish a friendship between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendship, I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating, and reciprocal visits more attentively, and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person. In every

every respect, I have done every thing to please and satisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him; notwithstanding which behaviour, he has not consented to a single thing that I have requested of him. Agreeable to what you wrote to me formerly, concerning Mharajah Ramnarain's affairs, I spoke to the Colonel, and, at his recommendation, appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the accounts. Golaum Aly Cawn, and the said Mharajah, went backwards and forwards to the Kella, for fifteen or sixteen days together, but Ramnarain neither gave them a single paper, nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came, and said to me: "We Europeans do not understand the country accounts, I will send Mharajah Ramnarain to you, he shall not be dismissed, but you may examine his accounts yourself." This I would not consent to; nevertheless, the next day, he sent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mr. Watts. Since that day to the present moment, he (Ramnarain) protracts the time in going backwards and forwards, and fixing the time for preparing his papers; but he has not produced a single paper, nor paid a single cowry, nor delivered over the charge of a rupee's worth of the country. Though I have complained, no one would listen to me, nor give me any redress. Ever since my arrival here, the English Seapoys have been stationed at the gates of the city, and would not permit my people to pass and repass. Mr. M'Gwire being somewhat indisposed I went to see him at the Factory, and from thence I went to the Colonel, and sat down and conversed with him. He desired, that, on tuesday the twelfth of Zeccada, I would go into the Kella, and, on friday the fifteenth, cause the Cootba to be read, and Siccas struck in the name of his Majesty.

Majesty. This I agreed to, and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard, that I was going into the Kella, they represented, that they should have frequent occasion to come to me, in order to lay their requests and petitions before me, and that till the Seapoys, &c. were taken off, they could not pass and repass without interruption; that when Meer Mahomed Jaffer Aly Cawn and Nasir-ol-moolk, deceased, resided in the Kella, the Seapoy guards were not upon the gates; and that, till they were taken off, they should not be able to pass. Considering, therefore, that the Seapoys were men of low disposition, frequently opposing men of credit in passing, and presenting their pieces to them, and that many of my people were proud and haughty, so that disputes might arise, and disturbances be created, I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requesting, that he would take off the Seapoys from the gates, and that then I will go to the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter, which contained no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry, and flew into such a passion, that he said, he would send for the King again, and told Golaum Aly Cawn, who was then present, that he would have no farther intercourse with me, that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might send troops to drive them off. Since the day the Colonel arrived here, he has declared to me, that I must comply with every thing that he shall recommend; and, accordingly, he has since told me in person, and by messages brought by Mr. Watts, and Shoik Cumaul, that I must appoint Nundcomar to the Fougedaree of Hougly, give the government of Poornea to the son of Aly Cooly Cawn, restore Mazuffer Aly (who plundered Nasir-ol-moolk's jewels to the amount



amount of eight lacks of rupees) to the Zemindaree of Carrackpoor, restore Comgar Cawn to the Zemindaree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarees of Raudhay and Dinagepoor, according to his pleasure. Though I desired the Colonel to appoint a Muttasuddhy to examine the accounts of my eight months government, and set me free, he would not listen to it. All my hopes and reliance is on your friendship and attachment to your engagements. This is the only consolation I have under my present afflictions. It is the dependance I have on your word that keeps me alive. Without this it is impossible to survive them. My hopes were from the revenues of this Province to pay my debt to the Company, and reduce the number of my forces; but nothing is yet done. I apprehend the Seapoys will assemble, as in Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring shame and dishonour upon my family. In the eight months of my government, I have scarce had leisure to drink a little water, and have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep. The four months, that I have been here involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the least happiness, except in the confidence I have of your friendship. My shame and dishonour are compleated, and I have no one to complain to but you. I hope, you will speedily write me, in what manner I can extricate myself from these difficulties, and establish my credit and reputation. Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me; God is my witness, and Mr. M'Gwire is acquainted with every circumstance. I am sorry that you, who are my patron and the partaker of my afflictions, should at this time be at such a distance, and that so much time should be taken up in writing and receiving letters; the rains are come, and

and the Seapoys wages daily encrease. The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confusion, and every thing contributes to make my life a burthen to me. My hopes are in your favour, for God's sake make no delay; if you do, my affairs are utterly ruined. Now this remains, that you, who are concerned in my welfare, come here yourself, or send for me to relate my sorrows to you.

(In the Nabob's own hand.)

All affairs here are at an end, and the ruinous situation of my affairs at this place has rendered my case desperate. I have wrote to you every particular, and hope from your benevolence that you will consider every syllable, and speedily redress my complaint.

S1.h—*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Dated 17 June 1761.

**Y**esterday I sent you, by the means of Mr. M'Gwire, a letter containing all the news, the contents of which you will understand. Last night, Colonel Coote made an entertainment for the Dutch, and was making merry. His guards were stationed all round the Kella. About twelve at night, Mharajah Ramnarain collected his people together, and sent word to the Colonel, that I had got my troops in readiness to attack the Kella in the morning, and that I would spare neither of them. The Colonel, being deceived by the snare, got his people ready. My Hircarabs brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it. This morning, Mr. Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zunana, calling out, where is the Nabob? and then stopped. After him Colonel Coote, in a great passion,

sion, with his horsemen, Peons, Seapoys, and others, with a cocked pistol in each hand, came swearing into my tent. It so happened, that I was asleep in the Zunana, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unbecoming manner, in which the Colonel went about, from tent to tent, with thirty-five horsemen, and two hundred Seapoys, calling out, where is the Nabob? He left some of his people in the Zunana and Dewankana, and went towards the south tent. The Eunuch of the Serai and Mr. Watts prevented his entering, saying, the Nabob is asleep, and this is the private tent of the Zunana. The Colonel returned, and proceeded through my whole army, and, seeing every one without arms, or any preparations, went back to the Kella. This base man is ungrateful, treacherous, and intent only on mischief, and to support such a wicked man, who has not any fear of God, and has even forgot himself, is to give cause for continual animosities. This you never suspected. He has arrived at this pitch now, and God knows what lengths he will go to hereafter. In the beginning of the night, unknown to me, he struck Siccas to shew his own zeal, and be beforehand with me, and passed them. At midnight, he set on foot this disturbance. I appeal to your judgment, what shame and disgrace the news of this event will bring upon me, in the minds of my enemies and equals from this place to the bounds of Hindostan. A loss of honour is not to be retrieved. You have several times wrote me, with great assurances of friendship, that the English troops were mine, and under my command. The meanest wretches would not have behaved as these people have done. In what manner will my troops behave to me after seeing these things. Notwithstanding all the care I have taken,



taken, and still continue to take, it is impossible for me to prevent this traitor from breeding dissensions, and giving my life and honour to the winds. If you are determined to countenance him my business is at an end; you may then invest him with the Subaship, and I shall be contented with the continuance of your friendship alone. If you approve of continuing me in the Subaship, send orders without delay for his dismissal, and an enquiry into his accounts. There is great danger in delay, and it will tend to my detriment. If this traitor is allowed, the least occasion or opportunity, like a snake half killed, he will never leave off his venom or inveteracy, but will throw every thing into confusion, and then all your endeavours will prove ineffectual; there is an end to every thing. It is now the time to give me a definitive answer, and to send express orders upon this subject to the gentlemen, who have been, and are the dupes of his craft and deceit. . . . As it was incumbent upon me, I have now told you every thing; the rest I leave to you and your resolutions.

SI.i—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Dated 17 June 1761.

**T**HIS morning I forwarded you a letter received last night from his Excellency, and this will inclose another, at which your surprize will not be greater than mine was, when the Nabob sent me advice of the treatment he met with this morning from the Colonel. In my letter of yesterday, I offered it as my opinion, either to immediately have Ramnarain dismissed, or come yourself to settle matters here, otherwise the poor Nabob must fall. I have not heard any

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thing

thing from the Colonel concerning this affair, or of his motives, farther than, that he expressed himself yesterday dissatisfied with the Nabob for sending him word, that he would not coin the Siccas, or read the Cutba, till the guards were taken off the city gates. But, no doubt, he will write the account of his proceedings, and give his reasons for his conduct. I foresaw, in some degree, the bad consequences of giving such ample power to your commanders in chief. Few men can brook the losing any part of the authority wherewith they are vested, and fewer still who can support that authority with moderation. If you cannot come yourself, as I find the gentlemen at Madras will not send the regiment, have not you the power to recall him, and confine the Major to military operations only? I am persuaded, this Gentoo Rajah has laid a trap, into which the Colonel fell, by raising a report, that the Nabob intended to attack the city as last night. However, when the Colonel arrived at his tents this morning, there was not even his customary body-guard there; and as there were not the least grounds or appearances of hostilities on his Excellency's part, the engagement is deferred till another opportunity. I have sent the Nabob word to bear with this treatment for a few days longer till your answer arrives, and not to take any hasty determination thereon, that you will certainly bear him through; but he apprehends daily insults from his own people, now they find he is insulted publicly by the English, by whom they were before kept in some awe. If you find yourself unable to carry the Nabob through his present difficulties, let the Rajah be declared Subah, and let this miserable great man return inglorious, disgraced, and despised to Moorshe-dabad, there to enjoy a single day of quiet; to which

which he has been an entire stranger ever since his arrival here.

I am told, the Rajah struck Siccas yesterday in the mint; if so, (and I esteem my authority good) it is plain, that he is certain of succeeding in the government of this place; for he had not permission from the Nabob to act in this manner.

His Excellency's Moonshy is just arrived; I asked him the purport of the letter he wrote the Colonel; he says, it amounted to this, "That he would come into the Kella agreeable to appointment, but that his Jemmadars would not acquiesce thereto, until our guards were taken off one of the city gates, that they might have liberty to enter and go out when they thought proper, that this being granted he would enter the Kella, and then and there strike the Siccas, and read the Cutba." But as the Nabob will transmit you a copy of the letter, I refer you to it.

I will now suppose the Nabob to have refused complying with striking the Siccas, and reading the Cutba, as alledged against him, (but before this comes to hand, you will know to the contrary, by his having previous to this sent orders to Moorshedabad, Decca, &c. to strike the Siccas on the twenty-fifth of this moon, being a lucky day, and of these his intentions he has wrote to the King) was this a reason for the Colonel's going armed to his tent? Or has he authority to act in this manner unnoticed? Should he not have complained of the Nabob's having broke his promise to him, that the board might take notice of his behaviour? May not the Nabob with justice assert, that he has purchased a stick to break his own head? In short, Sir, it appears plainly to me, that the board meets with more insults from this step than the Nabob, who throws himself on them for protection.



Had the Nabob formed the design of forcibly taking possession of the city, could we not have had Hircarahs to have given the earliest intimations of his first motions to this proceeding, without the Colonel's taking it for granted, and going with two companies of Seapoys, and a troop of horse to the Nabob's tents, two guries before the day broke?

The Nabob continues to request you will give his letters a careful perusal, without shewing them to your Moonshy.

*S1.k—Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Dated 18 June 1761.

**I** Wrote you last night to inclose an account from his Excellency, setting forth the situation he was in, and the conduct of the Colonel towards him. This evening I was favoured with a visit from the Colonel, in which he gave me the whole account, declaring, that the Nabob took every step he could think of to render the services he proposed doing him of no effect; that they had agreed, at their last meeting, to strike the Siccas, and read the Cutba as to-morrow; that the Nabob was to come into the city, and live there, and that he proposed doing every thing the Nabob could wish to render him easy, and in consequence of this agreement, he as well as the Nabob had wrote circular letters of their intentions; that he was surprized, instead of finding the Nabob resolute in this agreement, to receive a letter from him, setting forth, he would not come into the city till he had taken off the Seapoy guards; and, about the same time, he received intelligence, that his Excellency had a consultation with his Jemmadars, and that he had  
farther

farther reasons to believe he intended to raise his forces, and attack the city; that he had taken the necessary precautions, the night before, to prevent any such design taking place, and in the morning went himself to see the Nabob (taking with him his troop) to let him and his forces know that he was not to be terrified. I observed to him, that the Nabob intended to keep to his agreement, but his Jemmadars were averse to it, unless they might come in and go out when they thought proper. He replied, he was so far from hindering them, that he had consented to put some of the Nabob's people Chokeys on the gate, together with his own; that the intention of keeping those Chokeys there, was to keep out the rabble of his army. To-morrow was the day fixed upon for striking the Siccas; and whilst the Colonel remained here, Mr. Watts arrived with a message from the Nabob, to whom I understand the Colonel sent him, with some terms of accommodation, as I imagine; for, after a private conference in my chamber, he told him, when he came out, to return to the Nabob, and know if he would strike the Siccas to-morrow. Here you have all I know of the matter.

S.I.1 — *Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Colonel Coote.*

15 June 1761.

**I**T was agreed, that on tuesday, the twelfth of the month Zeccada, I should enter the Kella, and publish, with your concurrence, the Cutba and Siccas, in the name of his sacred and high Majesty. Conformably thereto, I was resolved upon going to the Kella. The Rissaladars and Jemmadars with me, hearing of this, represented to me, that from the continuance of the guards of

Seapoys at the gates of the city, their passing and repassing would be obstructed; that, in the time of the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, and the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk deceased, it never happened, that Telingas had the guard of the gates of the city; and that till those guards were taken off they would not go. For this reason I trouble you, that it is necessary to take off the Telingas from the gates of the city, that I may go to the Kella, and attend with you to the publication of the Cutba and Siccas, and these people as they desire may have free ingress and egress to and from me.

*T. I.— The following is a Copy of a Letter delivered into Council the twenty-sixth of June.*

GENTLEMEN,

**I**T is with the utmost concern I lay before you two letters received last night from the Nabob, containing a detail of some late occurrences at Patna, which serve to shew how much the present happy tranquillity of these Provinces is threatened by the effects of those violent prejudices, which were taken up soon after the late Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn resigned his government, and have been so industriously propagated ever since.

The urgency of the present circumstances will not allow me time to enter into a detail of the several facts, which, when collected, will shew the truth of what I have above asserted. Such a detail shall be my next work, and I will engage to prove, that those prejudices are the foundation of the present dangers. But first, let us endeavour, as far as in us lies, to remedy the disorder, and guard against these dangers.

I say



I say as far as in us lies, because our future orders may perhaps be as little regarded as our past. If the officers commanding our troops had attended to the instructions we sent them, the disputes at Patna had not continued till this time, nor been carried to so dangerous a length.

Ramnarain, the Naib or deputy of that Province, has been ever remarkable for his capacity in the arts and intrigues of this country. He soon discovered, how many had taken up prejudices against the present Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn, and who they were. He had a long account to settle of his three or four years administration, and sought, with too much success, to engage such as he knew to be already biassed against the Nabob, to support him in refusing or evading the rendering an account of his administration.

Compleat translations of the Nabob's two letters shall be laid before you at our next meeting. As yet, they have passed under no eyes but my own, because I think it highly necessary we should conceal, as much as possible, from the world, the extreme ill usage which the Nabob has received. Thanks to his moderation, and his entire dependance on our justice and good faith, the open hostilities, which seem to have been intended, were, for that time, avoided. What he may have been forced to, before now, is a subject in my mind of much uneasiness.

The most material circumstances of the Nabob's letter are these following. (Here follows a recital of them agreeably to the contents of the letter already entered.)

This, gentlemen, is the substance of the Nabob's letter, dated the sixteenth of June. The other of the seventeenth, contains the relation of a fact yet more surprizing and alarming. (Here

follows the account of Colonel Coote's behaviour in the Nabob's camp.)

This, gentlemen, is the fact as related in the Nabob's second letter, to which he adds, a strong representation of the ill effects, which such an affront put upon him, must have on his reputation in all parts of India, and even among his own people, and he concludes with requiring justice to be done him.

No account of this affair is yet arrived from the Colonel, but along with the Nabob's letters I received one from Mr. M'Gwire, dated the seventeenth, and another of the eighteenth is just come to hand. Copies of such parts of these as relate to this affair I have annexed hereunto; and as I regard that gentleman always as a member of the Board, and of the Select Committee, I think some regard is to be had to his opinion upon the state of affairs on the spot where he is, notwithstanding the Colonel's refusal to be guided by, or even to reply to the instructions we addressed to him, and Mr. M'Gwire jointly.

That gentleman has, however, transmitted me from time to time an account of what has been passing at Patna, and observed to me, in two or three different letters, that he suspected from the many unreasonable applications made to the Nabob, of a nature not to be complied with, and from other circumstances, that there was a settled and fixed design of bringing things to an extremity. I must own, that some of the measures taken here, and which shall be particularized in the narrative I propose to lay before you, seemed to favour such an opinion; yet I could never bring myself to believe, that prejudice could hurry men so far, as to make them careless of the present happy tranquillity of these Provinces in general, and of the Company's valuable possessions, and  
desirous

desirous of putting these blessings, and the lives of thousands to risk, by opening a scene of fresh troubles, which could not fail to succeed the going to war with the Nabob without reason, and without provision made for the better regulation of the government after his death, or expulsion, supposing one of these to be the consequence of our taking up arms against him, as it probably would. Besides these reflections, another consideration prevented my giving credit to there being really such a design, and which indeed would have led me to hold the design and the authors in contempt, if I could have persuaded myself such did exist; I mean the repeated orders of the Select Committee to the commanding officer of the army to support and assist the Nabob, which I thought sufficient to prevent any bad effects. But this affair is grown more serious than I could have imagined.

When I consider the frequent representations made to us, both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, of the little services to be expected from the Nabob's troops; that he was incapable, even of calling an ordinary Zemindar to an account, without our assistance; when I consider also, that not only the city of Patna, but all the rest of the frontiers of the Nabob's dominions are, and have been defended by our troops, as Beerboom, Midnapoor, and Chirtagong. I find it almost impossible to persuade myself, the Colonel could really think the Nabob had a design to assault the city; and if he could entertain such a thought, he should have let the Nabob begin the assault, in which he could not possibly have succeeded, and then the whole world would have been convinced that the Nabob was in the wrong.

But whatever might have been the Colonel's design, his fall, as related in the Nabob's second letter, was so conducted, as might naturally have been expected



expected to produce some disturbance in the Nabob's camp, and of that the immediate consequence would have been a general engagement between two armies, which I have always regarded as acting in concert, as strict friends and allies. I have said, gentlemen, and I repeat it, that it was owing to the Nabob's moderation, and his entire confidence in our justice and good faith, that hostilities did not immediately follow this affront put on him. But as I am doubtful what farther measures may have been pursued to this time :

I do therefore, in the first place, solemnly protest against those whom it may concern, for all the bad consequences that may ensue before the directions of the Board hereupon can reach the army, and declare myself not accountable for the blood that may be spilt, the disturbances that may lay waste the country, and the losses which the Company in particular may sustain, in their possessions, by any measures which may be pursued in contradiction to the orders of the Select Committee, corroborated and confirmed by repeated letters from myself to the commanders of our army, to whom, as well as to the Nabob, I have continually recommended reciprocal respect and friendship, and moderation in all differences of opinion.

And, in the next place, I do propose, and most strenuously recommend to the Board, to come to such resolutions as may best tend to prevent any dangers of this unexpected kind in future, and particularly, that the charge of the army may be given to some officers who will obey our orders.

The foregoing representation of Colonel Coote's fall to the Nabob's camp, is such as was immediately

diately transmitted by the Nabob. It is just to insert the Colonel's own account of it.

*V.1.—Copy of a Letter from Colonel Coote to Mr. Van Sittart.*

Dated 19 June 1761.

**I**N the postscript to my letter of the thirteenth instant, I acquainted you of the Nabob's having been with me, and by the conversation I had with him, Rajebullub, and Golam Aly Cawn that day, I had all the reason to expect, that I should soon have his affairs settled to the satisfaction of every body, and my own credit. I likewise informed you, of his agreeing to proclaim the King this day. He asked me, whether it would not be proper for him to come into the Kella on this occasion? I told him, it was a very proper step, and what I had long wished for, as by that means I could be oftener with him than my health would permit me now. Upon which he said, he would come in on Wednesday the seventeenth, and asked me, if I would pay him a visit that day upon his arrival? I replied, that I would with pleasure, and that I would likewise wait on him the morning he intended proclaiming the King, receive a dress from him, and proceed in publick with him to the Mosque; and told him, that as I had wrote to all the Zemindars of the country to come in, and settle their accounts with him, and had promised to write to the King by his Vackeel, I thought the more publick we appeared together, it would have the greater weight in transacting his affairs; on this occasion, the Nabob and his attendants abovementioned expressed their satisfaction in the strongest terms.

He then asked me, to have our Seapoys taken off the gates of the city; in answer, I told him,  
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it surprized me he should still harp on that subject, as I had before given him sufficient reasons of their utility, and added, that those Seapoys were a part of his army, and under the command of Captain Robertson, and were therefore ready to obey his orders; that the directions I had given Captain Robertson were, that they should stop nobody belonging to the Nabob from passing and repassing into the city; only not to deliver the gates to an armed force without my order, and to keep their post quiet; that he had himself often declared he had no command over his own forces, and that it was very well known, that those very forces had formerly an intention (and were near putting it into execution) to plunder the city; that, at this particular time, I had but very few troops with me, and therefore for his security, as well as my own, I could not be too much on my guard. He likewise asked me, if he should bring in some of his principal people to reside with him? I replied, by all means; they then took their leave seemingly very well satisfied.

I heard nothing from him afterward till the fifteenth at night, when he sent me, by one of his Chubdars, a letter (a copy of which I now inclose you, together with others relative to the transactions here) requiring an immediate answer. The method of his sending the letter, and the purport of it surprized me not a little; and I sent for Gollam Aly Cawn, who was then in the house, to come to my room, and asked him, if he knew the purport of the letter I had just received from the Nabob; he said, that before he left the Durbar he heard there was a letter to be sent, and by what he could find, he thought a very improper one after what had passed at our last meeting, and wished, that the Nabob had better advisers; I told him, I wished so too, and that I thought it must appear  
very



very odd, after I had wrote that morning to the King, and that I had sent circular letters to the Zemindars to come, and settle their accounts with him as Subah, to have the ceremony of proclaiming the King performed in the capital of the Province, by his servant a Gentoo, whilst he a Musselman remained in his camp in the neighbourhood. This affair seemed to me to be of such consequence, that I desired to have nothing more to do with messages, but desired to see himself next day. When I was informed, that the Nabob would not come, and by intelligence, that he had most of his Jemmadars in consultation with him, I at night sent to Captain Robertson to keep a good look out, and see that no mischief was done; and I likewise sent Hircarabs into his camp to observe what passed, and bring me an account. At midnight I was acquainted, that their guards were doubled, and a great stir among them. This I find by the following expression of Golam Aly Cawn was partly occasioned by Coja Gregory, which he has since dropped in company with Mr. Watts, that he was not afraid to tell Coja Gregory, at the time he was ordering it, that it would be productive of no good, and must give offence to the Colonel. Next morning, in order to be better acquainted how things went, I thought it necessary to go with my usual attendants to the Nabob's tent, to speak with him about those matters, and finding he was not up I departed; leaving Mr. Watts with him to let him know, how sensible I was of his ill treatment, having always acted the friendly part by him, and that by these proceedings he was putting it out of my power to serve him. I then took a tour round his encampment, where I found every thing wore the appearance of tranquillity.

VI.a— *Extract of a Letter from Colonel Coote to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 17 July 1761.

A Few hours before I left Patna, I had the honour of your letter of the twenty-sixth of June, together with copies of the Nabob's and Mr. M'Gwire's letters to the President, as also extracts of the minutes of Council.

As I have not been the first person whose actions have been condemned unheard, I therefore cannot look upon it as a particular misfortune attending me alone. The Nabob's disagreement with me on account of proclaiming the King, which seems to be the source of the indignities shewn me, I should have before now related to the Board, had I looked on it as an affair of any consequence to trouble them with; but as a common occurrence I related it in my private correspondence with Mr. Van Sittart (in my letter of the nineteenth of June, to which I beg leave to refer you) whose weight with the Nabob, as it seemed to me, might have been sufficient to settle any little points of variance. But to my great surprize, the most scandalous constructions are put upon all my actions, and the greatest falsehoods no sooner propagated than credited, which, if my word has any weight, will evidently appear by my letter beforementioned, and what follows.

On the 16th of June in the evening, having had different reports brought me concerning the Nabob's proceedings, I told Captain Eiser I intended paying him a visit next morning, to endeavour to settle matters with him, and at supper-time, desired that gentleman to order the troopers and my usual attendants to be ready a little after

after day-light. About six o'clock next morning, I set out from my quarters to the Nabob's, (which is about two coss) with about twenty-five European cavalry, and one company of Seapoys, which happened at that time to be a fewer number than usually attended me when I went upon publick visits, and I sent Mr. Watts on before to let the Nabob know, I was coming to wait on him. By the time I arrived at his tents it was near seven o'clock. The Nabob, I find, accuses me of going in a violent manner through his tents. On the contrary, the place where I alighted from my horse was near the Durbar tent, and the place where I always had alighted; and upon seeing Mr. Watts I asked him, where the Nabob was? Who replied, he was asleep in his Zunana; and as I had reason to suspect from my intelligence the last twenty-four hours that his intentions were not the best, I therefore when alighting took my pistols out of my holsters for my own security, (as I seldom ride with a sword) but declare they were not cocked; and I affirm, that I went no farther than the Durbar tent, where I sat down for a little time; still finding the Nabob did not come, I desired Captain Eiser to order two troopers to see, that no body of troops came in at the back part of the tent; and I now declare, that no one was placed on his Zunana. As the Nabob did not come, I went away, and for the rest of this affair, I refer you to my letter to the President.

The Nabob farther accuses me, of having endeavoured to oblige him to make up matters with Comgar Cawn and the Carrickpoor Rajah. I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them; and that I particularly refused seeing their Vackeels,  
and



and never had any correspondence with them but by two letters, which I wrote them by the Nabob's desire, copies of which have been transmitted to the President. . . . With regard to the Dinagepoor people, I was petitioned by the sons of the late Rajah (whose country had been taken from them by the Nabob, after taking a Nuzzur of ten lacks of rupees) requesting, that I would speak to the Nabob in their behalf, and deliver their petition to him, which was all the part I acted in that affair. . . . With respect to the Rajah of Radshay, Mr. Batson desired I would endeavour to serve him with the Nabob, as he had been fleeced by the Royroyan, and his country taken from him. I accordingly represented it to him, since which representation that poor unhappy man (tho' seventy years of age) has been tied up by the heels, and flogged with rattans almost to death. This shocking piece of cruelty not being thought sufficient, he was put in irons, and remained in that situation till Mr. Batson, through his humanity, had with difficulty by his interest got him freed from his shackles, but the poor old man still continues a prisoner. As to Myrza Killy Aly, I never mentioned him to the Nabob, nor has any body done it by any authority from me. The only person, whose interest I urged, was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffier, with whom I was formerly acquainted, and whom I found on my journey at Patna at Rajemaul starving with a large family. I begged the Nabob to do something for him; and he ordered him one thousand rupees *per* month, chiefly through the intercession of Rajebullub, who, by my request, used his interest on that occasion; but that poor man has not profited by this in the least, having hitherto not received a single rupee. . . . As there was a report spread, that the Fougedar of Hougly was to be turned out,

out, Mr. Watts mentioned, in a private discourse with Rajebullub, that if the Nabob would give that post to Nundcomar, it might be a means of obliging some gentlemen, whose friendship might be acceptable to him; and this was really hinted from a friendly view towards the Nabob.

The public character I was in obliged me to receive petitions, and to hear the complaints of every one. I therefore could not do less than inform the Nabob of them. But since I found that any applications through me were the sure means of hurting the poor people who complained (the Nabob having declared publicly, that whoever applied to the English was not his friend) I afterwards prevented their troubling me with their petitions.

**W1.**—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.*

Dated 16 June 1761.

**Y**OU have not been pleased, gentlemen, to allow me to have any thing to say or do with regard to Ramnarain, but if it depended on me, I declare no consideration whatever should induce me to give my consent to removing a man, whom we are bound to maintain by engagements prior to, and consequently more obligatory than any we may have since entered into with Cossim Aly Cawn. I have had hints before with regard to this unfortunate Gentoo, to which, if I would have listened, I might probably have turned my campaign to pretty good account; but, indifferent as my circumstances are, I thank God I scorn enlarging them by any means that would not stand the most public inspection.

**X1.**—*Ex-*

X1.—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 21 June 1761.

**H**IS Majesty crossed the Caramnassa this morning. He made such long marches from Saceram hither, that it was impossible for me to keep pace with him, and I was forced to leave the army a march behind, in order to get up to him. Yesterday evening on parting, he made me the most public declaration of his particular regard for me, and dismissed me with every mark of honour that could possibly be conferred on me. The accompanying is a copy of two Arzees I presented to him last night, with the answers he wrote in the body thereof with his own hand, in the presence of Mef. Lushington and Ironside as well as myself. He has also wrote to you, gentlemen, with a promise of issuing out his royal Sunnud, confirming the Company in all their present possessions and privileges, provided the proper Peshcush be paid, and, in the same letter, has made you an offer of the Dewannee of Bengal, on condition of your being answerable for the royal revenues, of which he declares, he expects no account while Cossim Aly Cawn has the management thereof. I do not chuse to venture sending you this letter, for fear it should be lost, as I have no duplicate of it, but acquaint you with the purport that you may be enabled to answer his Majesty, which answer he desires may be transmitted to him as soon as possible.

Y1.—Copy



YI.— *Copy of a Translation of an Arzee, wrote by Major Carnac to the King, with the King's Answer superscribed.*

**I**T is about five months since your Majesty honoured the tents of your faithful servant with your presence at Gya, and from your gracious will and pleasure, and in consequence of the address and engagements of your servant (devoted to your high and sacred court) in full confidence graced the Kella of Ayimabad. God is my witness, that from the commencement of my service to this time, I have never deviated, in the most minute circumstance, from the engagement of fidelity, which I made with your Majesty, but ever heartily attentive to my duty and loyal attachment, and ready to devote my life to your welfare, and regarding always the strict observance of my fidelity as my chief happiness, to the utmost of my power I have obeyed your sacred commands, and you have graciously declared, that you were pleased with the faithfulness of your servant, exalting me in honour above the clouds. Relying on that gracious disposition, which affords a shadow to the highest and the humblest of your slaves, I am in hopes that what I shall represent to you will obtain your royal approbation. For this cause your servant, who is a dependent of the English Company, humbly petitions, that your Majesty will be pleased to order, that Sunnuds be granted for all the Zemindaries and Factories of commerce, belonging to the Company in the Empire of Indostan, at Calcutta in the Subah of Bengal, and Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Surat in the districts of Deccan. In these four places, which are the principal Factories of the English Company, let the Company have the privilege

of a mint in each ; and that a Sunnud, after the usual form, be granted for the confirmation of the Jageers of Colonel Clive, who is one of the servants of the sacred court, and the patron of this faithful servant, whose attachment and devotion is notorious to the whole Empire, which to this day he has been honoured with by the royal donations; and let your Majesty look upon this your servant (who is a stranger in these regions) as one of the meanest of the servants of the Court, nor forget or blot him from your remembrance; and to the last breath of my life I shall ever pray, that the Almighty may make your Majesty (whose dignity is equal to Solomon's) an honour and ornament to the throne and everlasting Empire of India, an administrator of justice and equity, and a protector of the people of God, greater than the great King Timoor, that all the chiefs and all the inhabitants of the world may be held in obedience and fidelity by your royal clemency.

(Superfcribed by the King.)

The purport of the Arzee is fully understood. In consequence of the faithful attachment of that trusty servant, we agree and consent to it. Whenever the petition for it is sent in form, and the Pishcush delivered to the royal Sircar, the petitioned Sunnuds we will graciously grant. Besides this, in consideration of the services of that servant the Dewannee of the Subah of Bengal, on condition of paying the Malguzary, (according to the former amount) and a suitable Pishcush, shall be granted.

Z1.— *Copy of Mr. Van Sittart's Minute, and the Resolutions of the Board on the Major's Letter.*

**T**HE President cannot help observing on the foregoing, that instead of setting forth the attachment,

attachment, which the English nation and the Company, have always shewn to the Mogul government, the sums they have expended, and the valour they have exerted in defeating the King's enemies, the Major's whole thoughts are employed in expressing his own services and fidelity; in consideration of which he requests, that the indulgencies therein mentioned may be granted to the Company. He has not sufficiently considered, that it is the services of the Nation and the Company that should be pleaded, and recorded on all such occasions, in order to increase their respect and reputation in foreign countries; such pleas may be used in favour of that Nation and Company in future times, when they have any thing to apply for, which is a respect that will not be paid to any personal services; and farther, that all those indulgencies, he has applied for, were ordered from the Select Committee, and indeed without such orders he could not justify the applying for any thing; yet he takes not the least notice of the Committee, nor the Governor and Council, which the President mentions as one instance among many others of the great desire the most of our military officers have to conceal from the world, that they have dependence on any civil power.

With regard to the King's offer of the Dewannee, the Board are of opinion, that were the Company to accept of it, it would only be a source of perpetual contest and ill-will with the Nabob; but least such an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous, we will for the present defer coming to any resolution thereon, and only write the King in answer, that we shall soon send our requests in form.



A2.— *Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Mef. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Ellis, Sumner, and Smith) to Major Carnac.*

Dated 6 July 1761.

WE have received your letter of the twenty-first, inclosing copy of the two requests you presented to the King, with answers superscribed by him. Those answers are very indeterminate, and far from expressing his consent; they are indeed no way so favourable as we think we might have expected, considering the good faith, candour, and attachment we have shewn him in his most distressed circumstances, and the supplies of money he has received by our influence from the Nabob.

We cannot help remarking upon the stile of your request, as it may serve for your better guidance on future occasions. You have said much of your own services and attachment to the King, and neglected entirely so fair and just an opportunity of setting forth the reputation and power of our Nation, the attachment which the Company have always shewn to the Mogul government, the sums they have expended, and the blood that has been shed in defeating the King's enemies in different parts of India, and the particular obligations, which he in person owes to the government in Bengal. Such should be the stile of all public applications to foreign Courts, in order that they may serve our Nation for arguments on all future occasions.

With regard to the Dewannee of these Provinces, the Shah's offer is as indeterminate as his answers to your requests; and as it would be a  
source

source of continual jealousies between the Nabob and the Company, we do not think adviseable to sue for it at this time.

B2.— *Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac, to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 28 June 1761.

**I**N my last I mentioned my having a letter for you from his Majesty, relative to his confirmation of all the Company's possessions and privileges, and containing an offer to yourselves of the Dewanee of Bengal, and my unwillingness to send a letter of such consequence by the ordinary conveyance. I have likewise several other letters for you from him, some of a public, and some of a private nature; for fear therefore any inconvenience should result from their being delayed, I shall give them in charge to Ensign Swinton, with orders to convey them to you as fast as possible, if the Colonel will give him permission. I have done every thing for the service of my masters, that the little power you were willing to invest me with would admit of my doing. I have obtained a promise from his Majesty, under his own hand, of his royal confirmation of all your possessions and privileges, provided you pay him a proper Pishcush, as has been always customary, in return for such grants. It rests with you, whether or not you will be at the expence of procuring them; if you intend it, it is necessary you should, without loss of time, send an able and trusty Gentoo to reside as your Vackeel with the Court, and bring the business to a speedy issue.

C2.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire to Major Carnac.*

Dated 6 July 1761.

**I**N answer to my request for leaving two hundred rank and file, exclusive of the sick, Mr. Reed, by your directions, has acquainted me, that you have orders from the Colonel to include the sick; and that if I should still be of opinion it is necessary to keep up that number of effective here, I must write to Calcutta for fresh orders, which will arrive before your departure, as you cannot execute your orders for returning in less than twenty days.

The Colonel, you acquainted me, has sent orders to Saferam for Captain Hart to return directly; and you have, as I understand, sent the like to Captain Champion, from whence, it may be presumed, they will arrive here in about six days. In the mean time, preparations may be made for their embarking, and what is to detain them afterwards, I am at a loss to find out.

However, Sir, that I may execute my orders, without loss of time, I request you will deliver over the command, ordered to remain here, to Captain Corstair; they may be selected hereafter, and as his Excellency is desirous of coming into the city, you will order the centries at the gates to be taken off.

I am farther to request an old battalion may be left me, in the room of the Seapoys commanded by Captain Stribbert, as they are at present unfit for immediate service.

C.2.a—*Copy*



C2.a — *Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing Letter.*

Dated 6 July 1761.

AS the Board neither have, nor indeed have the power to put me under your directions, I am not accountable to you for my proceedings here, nor are you to prescribe the time that may be requisite for getting every thing ready for transporting that part of the army which I am ready to take down with me. Of this you will allow me to be as good a judge as yourself, especially as there are two or three things to be done before we set out, which you are probably unacquainted with, both a general muster, and a general court martial to be held, which must employ a few days. You may be assured, however, no time shall be lost, as I am as impatient to get away from Patna as you can be to have me away; but, in the interim, I will deliver over the command to no one.

Coffin Aly Cawn may come into the Kella when he pleases, and I will be answerable for the security of his person, but I will not take off the guards that have been so long posted at the gates. Were that armed rabble about him to have free ingress and egress, some quarrel would inevitably happen between them and our people, which, as well as any accident happening to the city, I will endeavour to prevent during my continuance in it.

I think Captain Stibbert's battalion full good enough for any service they can be employed on at this season of the year, and as they have been all along appropriated for the use of your Factory, I shall certainly include them in the two thousand Seapoys directed to be left with you, unless I receive orders from the gentlemen below to the contrary.

D2.—*Copy*

D2. — *Copy of a Letter from the Board (Mef. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Sumner, and Smith) to Major Carnac. \**

14 July 1761.

WE have received a letter from Mr. M'Gwire, dated the sixth instant, accompanied with a copy of your letter to him of the same date.

We desire to know, by what authority you have kept the command of the army at Patna, because either in Colonel Coote or you there is a manifest contempt of our orders of the twenty-sixth ult. ; which directed, that both you gentlemen should return to Calcutta, and that the troops should be left under the command of Captain Carstairs, to follow the instructions of Mr. M'Gwire. The mustering the army, or holding a court martial, are not sufficient reasons, as both those services might be performed in Calcutta. We would ask you farther, whether it is possible, that any officer receiving those orders, for leaving two hundred Europeans and two thousand Seapoys, to assist the Nabob in settling the affairs at Patna, can, without a manifest intention of counteracting our determination, understand, that the sick shall be included amongst the Europeans, and the Seapoys to be left on service, to be the worst of the army.

It is true, that we should avoid, as much as possible, putting any officer, entitled to a seat at the Board in military affairs, under the orders of any member of that Board, who, on such occasions, would sit below him ; and this regard for your rank was one reason among others, why we did not propose to you to remain at Patna, under the orders of Mr. M'Gwire ; however, Sir, that you

\* N. B. Mr. Amyatt did not sign this letter.

you may not think that rule invariable, you will give me leave to inform you, that we can, when the Company's service requires it, oblige any officer in their service to act under the directions of their governors or factors at any of their settlements.

Neither is it possible the service can be well conducted on the independent footing which you are pleased to claim; witness your little regard to the representations of Mr. M'Gwire, with respect to the choice of the troops to be left at Patna, as beforementioned, although the Company's Factory and effects there, as well as the execution of the service for which these troops are to be left, is committed to the charge of that gentleman.

To put an end to these disputes we direct, that on the receipt of this letter you give over the command of the army to Captain Carstairs, with orders to follow the directions of Mr. M'Gwire, to whom we have given the necessary instructions, concerning the draughting of the troops to be kept at Patna, and the embarkation of the rest for Calcutta.

And you will repair to Calcutta yourself with all convenient speed.

E2.—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council:*

Dated 7 July 1761.

**I**N consequence of an order from Colonel Coote I left the detachment, with which I had the honour to escort his Majesty, at Sasaram the thirtieth of June, and arrived here the third of July, on which the Colonel resolved to return to Calcutta, and was preparing to set out on the morning of the fifth. In the interim, he received a letter from  
the



the Board, which only served to confirm him in his resolution, and he gave me directions to execute their orders, which I shall do with the utmost expedition, being as averse as the Colonel from having any hand in the business that is likely to be carried on. I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain. I cannot help, on this occasion, laying before you two paragraphs, the one extracted from your letter to me of the ninth of February, viz.

“ We observe, when Colonel Caillaud began  
 “ his march to Patna, the beginning of the last  
 “ year, he had particular instructions from Co-  
 “ lonel Clive and the rest of the Committee to  
 “ protect Ramnarain, in case of the Nabob’s ma-  
 “ king any attempt against his person or honour.  
 “ We believe such an injunction at this time un-  
 “ necessary, as the present Nabob seems to be  
 “ well inclined towards Ramnarain. But should  
 “ it prove otherwise, it is our resolution to have  
 “ the same regard to the former engagements in  
 “ his favour as was then designed, and therefore  
 “ direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ram-  
 “ narain against all violence and injustice that may  
 “ be offered to his person, honour, or fortune.”  
 The other from your letter of the twenty-first of  
 April. “ We ever intended to preserve Ramnarain  
 “ in the government of Patna, and have there-  
 “ fore recommended it to Colonel Coote to give  
 “ him his protection in all circumstances.” Pray,  
 how are these reconcileable to the instructions ad-  
 dressed to Mr. M’Gwire, of which I have seen a  
 copy, attested to be a true one by the Sub-secre-  
 tary ?

tary? The force to be left at Patna is expressly said to be "only to assist the Nabob in settling accounts with Ramnarain, and the several Zemindars of the Patna Province." After which is the following article. "This you (Mr. M'Gwire) are to do in general to the utmost of your power, in such manner as he may apply to you. With respect to Ramnarain, it may be necessary to be somewhat particular. Colonel Coote is already directed to assist the Nabob so far as to suspend him (Ramnarain) from his government until the accounts are settled, and to put the Nabob's people in possession of all the revenues. This you will conform to, and let him be brought to an adjustment of his accounts, by such measures as the Nabob shall think proper." By this Ramnarain is absolutely left at the Nabob's mercy, and thrown out of that protection, which he has hitherto all along received from the English, and the continuation whereof he had an undoubted right to expect in virtue of our engagements, and in return for the attachment he has ever shewn us. The President mentions indeed his having wrote to the Nabob in his favour, which may so far have an effect, as to prevent his daring directly to get him made away with; but he may easily manage to behave to Ramnarain in such manner, as to cause him to make away with himself, which those of his cast have been frequently known to do when they have happened to be dishonoured. Be this as it will, the Mharajah is frightened beyond all expression. He was with me the day before yesterday in the evening, and represented with tears in his eyes his surprize at finding himself abandoned by those, who had so long supported him. He declared, that as the Colonel was now gone, and I to follow him in a few days, he

he had no longer any refuge, and must inevitably fall a sacrifice to his enemies if he continued here, and therefore requested, with extreme earnestness, that I would let him quit the country, and have him safely conducted over the Soane. It is hard to pronounce of any other person's intentions, but we may reasonably presume the Nabob's designs cannot be very good, when he endeavours to secure the execution of them by the force of bribes. I can produce proofs of the offer he made me, provided I would let him act as he pleased with regard to Ramnarain; and few people will doubt, that the notes, which Mr. Lushington and I received from Rajebullub, and which I keep by me, were sent by the Nabob's approbation, if not by his immediate direction. I am also well assured, very large offers have been made to the Colonel for the same ends, but he had too much virtue and honour to accept them.

F2.— *Copy of the President's Minute of the twentieth of July 1761.*

**T**HE President observes, that as Major Carnac has nothing to do but to obey the orders of the Board, and has no right to question or dispute upon them, his letter of the seventh instant will require no answer.

It seems however, by the tenor of many of the Major's letters, and this in particular, that he thinks himself the higher power, and the Board accountable to him. Upon this principle, after quoting the former orders of the Select Committee in favour of Ramnarain, he proceeds to demand, "Pray, how are these reconcileable to the instructions addressed the twenty-sixth of June to Mr. M'Gwire."

Although



Although the Board might do themselves justice upon an officer who thus forgets the respect due to them, yet we chuse rather to refer it to the determination of our honourable masters, to whom it shall at the same time be made appear, that those orders in Ramnarain's favour are now the strongest judgments that can be produced against him, as they are incontestable proofs of our desire to protect him, although the engagements, which are so much talked of, are no where to be met with. It shall be proved also, that those who profess the greatest friendship for Ramnarain, and who have permitted, if not encouraged him in refusing or evading for five months together to render any account of his administration, are in effect his greatest enemies, by putting it out of our power to protect him longer in so shameful an injustice, in which he has already been upheld until he had well near carried his point, that of bringing the Nabob to ruin by a disgraceful residence at Patna, at an immoderate expence, without any income from the Province. This, it is imagined, will hardly be said to be the intent of the supposed engagements, and therefore if any have made Ramnarain believe the meaning of them would be so far stretched, it is they that are the cause of his tears, and it is they that must answer for his unhappy death, if he should destroy himself as Major Carnac seems to apprehend. It is however more than probable, that he will not prove quite so desperate, and that when he is convinced he is not independent of the Souba of Moorshedabad, he will do what he ought to have done five months ago, that is, render to the Nabob an account of his administration, and in such case he will be treated better than he pretends to expect, better a great deal than he deserves.

He has yet hopes, that Major Carnac may keep the command of the army. A delay of twenty days,  
and

and Colonel Coote's coming down to Calcutta, might produce fresh orders. A man of Ramnarain's disposition will construe such a possibility into a certainty, and while he can hope for such a protector at the head of our army, he will continue to think he has a right to an unlimited protection, and continue to evade rendering the Nabob any accounts.

Major Carnac declares himself very freely on this occasion, and gives, at the same time, a fresh instance of the respect he has for our authority. This passage of his letter of the seventeenth, is worthy the observation of the Board, as well as of our honourable masters, who seldom write to their President and Councils with so great an air of superiority. "I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain."

If more instances of a like nature are wanting, they may be seen in many of the Major's letters, particularly in one to the Select Committee dated the sixteenth of June 1761. His own opinion and declarations shall be the rule of his actions, and shall supersede the orders of the Board. If our declarations had merited a small part of his attention, Ramnarain would not have been deceived so long. The repeated orders of the Select Committee for obliging him to settle accounts with the Nabob shew, that it was never our intention to screen him from that just demand; the first of those orders was in a letter to the Major so long ago as the

It is true, we did not fix a day for Ramnarain's rendering his accounts, which is a proof of the regard the Board have shewn him, and

and of the moderation with which they have acted throughout the whole affair.

Week after week we expected to hear, that the accounts had been laid before the Nabob. Instead of that, excuse came upon excuse. At length, on the seventeenth of May, we sent the Colonel particular directions in what manner to have the accounts settled, that Ramnarain should be regarded as the deputy of the government of Moorshabad, that he should give the Nabob a faithful account of his outstanding balances, and the Nabob send his own people to collect them. Who would have imagined that after this, fresh evasions would be admitted for two months more, notwithstanding the Nabob's entreaties and representations of the ruin in which he must soon be involved by his useless expences.

The President wrote more than once to Ramnarain, in consequence of the resolutions of the Select Committee, that our protection would depend on his rendering a just account to the Nabob; but he is lately advised by Mr. McGwire, that Ramnarain, instead of collecting his revenues in a regular manner, has taken, or rather accepted, from the Zemindars large sums by way of presents, which not being brought to account, makes their balances appear much larger than they really are, and his own as much less. An unwillingness to confess this fraudulent attempt seems to be the true cause of his seeking so many shifts and evasions.

Much more shall be said on this subject hereafter, in order to prove to our honourable masters, that the resolutions lately taken by the Board (or as Major Carnac politely expresses it, the business that is likely to be carried on) were absolutely necessary for preserving the present tranquillity, for maintaining the constitution of the government of these Provinces, and fulfilling on our part the treaty sub-



sisting between the Company and the Nabob, as he has so faithfully done on his.

G, 2.—*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 29 July 1761.

**I**Nstead of meeting your thanks, as I imagined, for the greatest diligence with which I executed your orders, I received to my great surprize a letter of censure from you, dated the fourteenth instant; but it gives me the less concern, as I perceive so few have subscribed their assent thereto.

I have nothing farther at present to observe to you, but that you can never oblige a gentleman to do what he thinks unjust or unreasonable, so long as he has it in his option to quit the service, and it is a fortunate circumstance we have this in our power in a part of the world, where, by reason of the extreme distance from redress, we are exposed to such frequent ill treatment as I in particular have experienced, and from no other demerit that I am conscious of, but having been impolite enough to declare my disapprobation of the late measures. Yet in this I am not singular, as I verily believe, if the whole Board could be assembled (as in affairs of such importance it seems absolutely requisite that they should, or at least their opinions be collected) the half, if not the majority, would be found to concur with me in sentiment.

H, 2. — *Extract of Mr. Van Sittart's Minute of the third of August 1761.*

**T**HE President begs leave to observe on reading Major Carnac's letter, that he had mentioned to Mr. Ellis some time ago, that his signing

ing his dissent to any letter from the Board is neither customary nor proper, that the resolutions of the majority of the Board are to be deemed the resolutions of the Board, and to be signed as such by the whole Board; that any member who dissents from the opinion of the majority is to enter his dissent and his reasons upon the body of the consultations; that the signing dissents in the letters is improper, because it makes known to the world the different opinions of the members, by which means it may be a cause of promoting a misunderstanding, and it also exposes the Board to remarks, such as Major Carnac has not failed to take the occasion of making.

The President farther observes, that he apprehends Major Carnac has not confined his remarks on the opinions of the several members of the Board to his answers to our letters, but has made them known even to the Shah; and this he takes to be the reason why the eight letters laid before the Board are addressed, some to the Council of Calcutta only, and others to the Governor and Council jointly. The King could not have addressed his letters thus from any custom or principles of his own, because in all parts of the Mogul Empire they never know or correspond with but one chief; and all other forms of government they will regard as a weakness, of which they will endeavour to take advantage, as is the Shah's design in the present case, and it is no doubt in conformity to this system of the country government, that the Company have made it a rule in all their settlements, that the country correspondence should be carried on through the channel of the Governor alone.

I, 2. — *Extract of the Translation of a Letter from Major Carnac to the King.*

**T**HE letters, which you some time ago was pleased to honour the Council with on certain affairs, were not sent for want of a trusty person to be charged with them. On my arrival at Patna, I found Colonel Coote was preparing to set out for Calcutta, I therefore delivered them to him, who will carry them safe to the Council, who will be greatly honoured by the receipt thereof. The Colonel will, with his whole heart and soul, exert all his power and influence that your royal orders may be complied with, and will speedily send most respectful Arzees in answer thereto from the Council. At this writing your servant is preparing to set out for Calcutta in a day or two, and by the help of God will, in conjunction with the Colonel, exert his utmost to have every thing accomplished agreeable to your Majesty's orders. I will not delay to acquaint your Majesty of what may be determined on by the Colonel's and my advice.

K, 2. — *Extract of Mr. Van Sittart's Minute of the twenty-second of Sept. 1761.*

**W**ITH respect to withdrawing Major Carnac from the command of the army, reasons were given at the time the resolutions were taken, on the consultation of the twenty-ninth of June, and the same reasons still subsist, for Major Carnac declared, no longer ago than last Thursday, at the Select Committee, that he would be the judge of what orders he might receive from the Board. The President observes, that no service can be carried on where there is more than one authority. If an officer



officer is to be judge of the orders he receives from the Board, the execution of those orders will depend on his judgment, and not on the judgment of the Board.

K,2.a.—*Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing.*

THE President has been pleased to alledge, in justification of his having recalled the Major from the command of the forces at Patna, the Major's inveterate hatred against the Nabob, and his declaration, that he would be the judge of the orders he received. For the answer to the first, he refers to his letter, which he now delivers in; and with respect to the other he begs leave to observe, that he is truly concerned orders of such a nature have been given as to oblige him to make the like declaration, and to repeat now to the Board, that he had rather incur the charge of disobedience than comply with orders, the execution whereof would bring dishonour upon the Nation, and disgrace upon himself, and the forces under his command.

L,2.—*Extract of a Consultation of the twenty-second of Sept. 1761.*

THE President lays before the Board Mr. Ellis's instructions as follows.

Captain Carstairs, the commanding officer of the troops at Patna, is ordered to act under your directions. The reason for our keeping up so considerable a force there, is to be in readiness to assist the Nabob, in reducing to obedience and good order any of the Zemindars of his dependance, that may give him cause of complaint by withholding their rents, fomenting disturbance, or otherwise. Our honourable masters, sensible of the impropriety

priety of protecting a servant against his master, and of the bad consequences that may result therefrom, have cautioned us very particularly on that subject in their general letter. We think such their caution very judicious, and that nothing but jealousy and ill-will between the Nabob and the Company can be the consequence of our interfering in the support of any Zemindar, or other person holding office, grant, or authority under the government. It is expressly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob, and besides must end in the ruin of the person so protected, who presuming on our interposition throws off his respect for his master, and consequently shuts up all the ways of accommodation. Every one that has been admitted under such protection, from the beginning of Jaffier Aly Cawn's government, may be quoted as an instance of the truth of this observation. We injoin you therefore not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any of the affairs of the country government, or the people belonging to it; but when the Nabob applies to you for the assistance of any of our forces to be sent to any part of the country under his jurisdiction for the execution of any service, you are to take the opinion of the officer commanding our troops, whether the force under his command is sufficient for the execution of the service proposed, or what part of it is requisite to be sent. If he judges this force sufficient, you are to direct him to proceed, and do his utmost for the execution of the said service; and if the whole force is not necessary, to send such a detachment as he judges sufficient. But if the commanding officer shall give his opinion, that the force under his command is not sufficient for the execution of the proposed service, then you are to transmit to us the most speedy intelligence that we may send you a reinforcement. After the Nabob's departure

ture from Patna you are to give the same assistance to the Naib or deputy he may leave there for the management of the affairs of his government.

Some of the Board were of opinion, that Mr. Ellis should have the power to judge of the nature of the services, on which the Nabob might request the English troops to be employed, and, in consequence of that judgment, to comply with his request or not, upon which the question being put.

Mr. Hastings thinks he should not have the power, but represent to the Council, if he thinks the Nabob requires our troops upon any service hurtful to the English character, as he has no conception of any such service.

Mr. Smith is of the same opinion.

Major Carnac thinks, that Mr. Ellis should be a judge of the nature of the service, as well as the sufficiency or insufficiency of the force required for that service.

Mr. Amyatt thinks, that the putting our Chief at Patna with the troops committed to his charge under the orders of the Nabob is dishonourable to our masters, an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented case until the chiefship of Mr. M'Gwire, when Mr. Amyatt dissented to it in the proceedings of the Select Committee of the eighteenth of June. The power of calling for our forces whenever and for what services he pleases, without the chief's being allowed to judge of the nature of those services, may be attended with such fatal consequences, that it would be the height of imprudence to entrust any Nabob with it, especially one, who we have too much reason to suspect, would be glad of an opportunity to make an ill use thereof in order to throw an odium upon us.

Mr. Amyatt cannot therefore subscribe to the instructions now before the Board, while they contain an article of such dangerous tendency.



Colonel Coote is of the same opinion with Mr. Amyatt.

The President approves of the orders as they now stand, being in his opinion best calculated to prevent disputes, and most agreeable to our honourable masters intentions.

Mr. Ellis arrived at Patna about the middle of November, just after the Nabob had marched from thence for the Bougepoor country.

M, 2. — *A Letter from Captain Carstairs to the Nabob.*

Dated 31 Jan. 1762.

I Have received a letter from Mr. Ellis the Chief of the Factory at Patna to this purport: "That one Munseram Hircarah, in the Per-gunne of Arra, has stopped some opium belonging to Mr. Hay, notwithstanding there was a Dustuck with it, and will not let it pass; that I must therefore take him prisoner, and freeing the opium from his hands dispatch it forwards." Regarding your Excellency's favours, I have judged it not proper to imprison Munseram, but submit this matter to your Excellency, and request, that you will write a reprimand to the said Munseram, and command him to release the opium. I request a speedy answer to this address, that I may write accordingly to Mr. Ellis.

N, 2. — *From the Nabob to Mr. Ellis.*

Dated 22 Jan. 1762.

SOME time ago you wrote to me concerning the ill behaviour of the officers of Purnea. At this time, I am informed by a letter from Meer Sheer Aly Cawn, the Naib of Purnea, of great

great acts of oppression committed by Mr. George Gray, Chief of the Factory at Molda, of his seizing and imprisoning the Pishcar of Heeramun, the Zemindar and Wadadar of Taajepoor, and sending Seapoys and Europeans to purchase grain, and erect new Factories in every district of Purnea. A copy of this letter, with a letter written by that gentleman to Sheer Aly Cawn, I send you inclosed, that you may be informed of the particulars. Since the ties of friendship and alliance have been established between me and the English Company, and our interests in this country are united, if you imprison my people in this manner to the ruin of my lands, and the impoverishing of my revenues, such a proceeding is very foreign from the friendship and good understanding, which should subsist between us. I desire, that you will take this affair into consideration, and regarding our several concerns as united, direct me how I am to act, and it shall be done accordingly. When you have read Mr. Gray's letter please to return it.

O,2.— *Copy of Mr. Ellis's Answer to the above.*

Dated 4 Feb. 1762.

**Y**OUR Excellency's letter, inclosing a letter of Mr. George Gray, and the copy of one from Meer Sheer Aly Cawn, I have read with great pleasure, and have understood all the particulars. I have before this repeatedly represented to you the complaints which have been made to me against the Zemindars of Purnea. Now Mr. Gray's letter has clearly proved the insolence of the Zemindars, and the justice of my complaints. It is fact, that the insolence of the Zemindars and officers in every quarter exceeds all bounds, and that the Company's business has been entirely obstruct-  
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ed and ruined. It appears from Mr. Gray, that he complained to Sheer Aly Cawn twice or thrice against the Zemindars, but receiving no answer nor redress, he was under the necessity of taking such measures. At this time, a person in the districts of Mongheer having seized some salt-petre of the Company's, I have taken him prisoner, and sent him to Calcutta. . . . Of this I inform your Excellency. . . . Having learnt the contents of Mr. Gray's letter, according to your orders I send it back inclosed.

P,2.— *From the Nabob to Mr. Ellis.\**

YOUR letter I have received. You write, that "the Company's Gomastahs have the  
" free liberty of trading every where; that it is  
" needless to enumerate particulars, that you de-  
" fire me to write a Perwana to Sheer Aly Cawn,  
" to forbid his officers to stop any goods of the  
" Gomastahs in Purnea."

I have just received intelligence, that you have sent a large force, and carried off a collector of the government who was at Punohmahla in the districts of Mongheer. If that person had committed any fault, it would have been proper to have informed me of it. Since my interests and the Company's are united, it ill became you to seize an officer of my government, who was entrusted with affairs of great consequence, and then to desire a letter to Sheer Aly Cawn. Since my servants are subjected to such insults, my writing can be of no use, you are the master. Send for any of my officers, Zemindars, Tahseeldars, or Fougeders, where, and whomsoever you please.

How

\* N. B. The date of this letter doth not appear, but it must have been about the fourth or fifth of February.



How much my government and authority are weakened by these proceedings I cannot describe,

Q,2.—*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the President.*

Received 10 Feb. 1762.

**A**T this time Mr. Ellis, the Chief at Patna, writes, that the Purnea and other Fougedars molest the Company's business. I have therefore wrote expressly to the Purnea Fougedar, &c. not to interrupt the Company's trade, but always to assist them. I before wrote to the Bengal Fougedars and others not to impede the Company's business in any respect, and to advise you of any thing that came before them. I am at a great distance; therefore should any thing happen, write to the Fougedars and others, and they will act as shall most tend to benefit the Company's trade and the business of my Subadarry.

R,2.—*Extract of a Paper of News sent to the Nabob from Patna.*

Dated 4 Feb. 1762.

**F**OUR guries before night, two or three companies of Seapoys and Europeans with their baggage passed by land through the Kella by the eastern gate. God knows what is the design, and whither they are going. In consequence thereof Sedderam the Dewan of Goorgheen Cawn, (Coja Gregore) came to the Mharajah, and they have been sitting together for two hours in close debate upon this matter. The Mharajah has strictly enjoined Laal. . . . and Rambuksh and the other Hazarees and the Telingas (Seapoys) of Goorgheen Cawn, not to admit any European or English Seapoy

poys within the city, but to be on their guard. Conformably to the orders of the Mharajah all the Hazarees and the Seapoys of Goorgheen Cawn are on their guard.

S.2.—*Translation of a Letter from Raja Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

Received in Consultation, 22 Feb. 1762.

SHujan Sing, the Naib at Mongheer, has wrote to Seedaram, the Naib of Coja Gurgheen, that some time ago the Seapoys surrounded the Fort, but not succeeding, they went to two gardens which are near the Fort to the northward and southward, and from thence to Seetacoon (which is situated near the river) where they yet remain, Shujan Sing represented to them, that there were no Europeans in the Fort, and carried two of their own people into it, and shewed them every place about it, and though no Europeans were to be found, they were not satisfied, but wanted to send two sergeants; but Shujan Sing, apprehending they might have some view, would not permit the sergeants to enter the Fort. On this account I sent to Mr. Ellis, through the means of Golaum Mahomed Cawn to know, why they acted in this improper manner; and that at several times he was dispatching many Europeans and Seapoys from Patna towards Mongheer Fort, on which account the inhabitants were much terrified, and had run away, that those who lived round Mongheer were drove to great distress, and the Zemindars seeing all this, were dilatory in paying the revenues, and desiring to know what were his intentions; that it was better for him to recall his people; and if after enquiry the Europeans should be in the Fort, I would get them, and deliver them up. Mr. Ellis answered plainly;

ly; "Till the sergeants go into the Fort I will not recall the men." I apprehend, he will shortly send more people. This I have represented for your information.

*T, 2.—Copy of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

*Dated 26 March 1762.*

**Y**OUR Excellency's Perwana signifying, that formerly Mr. Ellis wrote, and now Mr. Van Sittart has written also, that when the Company of Seapoys went towards Mongheer, I gave a letter in the name of Shujan Sing, the Naib of that place, for the search and examination of the said Fort; that your Excellency is amazed at this information; that I never gave you the least notice of this affair; and that I should inform you fully of the truth of this matter; I have received with pleasure.

I know not in truth any thing of this affair, neither did any person ever demand, or I write such a letter. Had any such demand been made, what could have induced me to have given such a letter? Or had there been an absolute necessity for one, I should first have acquainted you with the particulars, and waited your orders upon them. This affair is utterly false and untrue.

*V, 2.—Translation of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

**T**O-day a man mounted on a horse belonging to Mr. Ellis, Chief of the English Factory, was passing by the eastern gate into the Kella. A Coffree, who commanded the Telingas and Gardes belonging to Goorgheen Cawn, and who had the command of the gate, asked the horseman whom



whom the horse belonged to? The man refused to tell him the owner's name, and gave him ill language. Upon this provocation, the Coffree took hold of the horse's bridle, and stopped him. The horseman drew his dagger upon him, which the Coffree seized, and took from him. The horseman went to Mr. Ellis, who sent some Telingas to seize and carry the Coffree before him. On intelligence of this, I called the Seapoys of the Factory and the Coffree before me, and enquired into the affair in presence of the Hircara of the Factory. It appeared, that the fact was as I have related it. Afterwards speaking kindly to them, and giving them Betel, I dismissed them. They took their leave of me, but did not go to the Factory, and not being able to sit at the gate, six Seapoys stationed themselves in a shop of the Bazar, in the passage which leads to my house, demanding the Coffree, with some gold Mohurs which were plundered. I sent Golaum Mahmud Cawn to the Chief, to expostulate with him for making such trifles a matter of debate, and to desire him to recall the Seapoys. He would by no means consent, but replied in anger, "Till the Coffree is brought into my presence, I will never recall the Seapoys." Since in this manner the affairs of the government suffer indignity, and I am not empowered to do any thing without your commands, I request you will speedily favour me with your orders upon this affair that I may act accordingly.

W,2.—*Translation of a Letter from Maharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

THE substance of a quarrel, which happened between Mr. Ellis's people, and the Coffrees belonging to Goorgheen Cawn, and of the six

six Telingas being stationed at a shop in the Bazar in the way to my house, I have before represented in an address to your Excellency, which you will have received.

Several times, both yesterday and to-day, a person came from the Factory to demand the Coffree. By the means of Meer Abdroolla and Golaum Mahmud Cawn, who formerly passed and repassed into the Factory on business, I returned a suitable answer. At length, the Chief declared, that if the Coffree was not sent it would be treating him with contempt, and if he was sent for one instant only, he should be immediately dismissed. To day therefore the Coffree was sent: the Chief, enquiring the occasion of the difference, told him, he forgave him his offence, and at the same time dismissed him, and withdrawing the Seapoys called them home. At present there are no Seapoys at the place.

X2.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 26 Jan. 1762.

**F**ROM the late frequent interruptions given to our business, I am necessitated to acquaint you of the general disregard shewn to the English Dustuck throughout the country, but more particularly so in those parts where the Armenians have any influence.

In pursuance of our honourable masters orders by Lord Mansfield, a quantity of Turmerick was purchased near Mow, which when ready I sent a Dustuck for, but to little purpose; for Coja Anroon (the prisoner sent to Calcutta) declared it of no effect, and had the insolence to give one himself under the seal of one Coja Gregory, alias Goorgheen

Goorgheen Cawn, an Armenian, which I have now the honour to inclose you. Upon my asking him how he dared to give a Dustuck for the Company's goods? He replied, "To prevent their being stopped, which mine would not have done, because we are not sufficiently known."

I have frequently complained to the Nabob of these insolencies, and have constantly received evasive and dissatisfactory answers. Once indeed, on a representation made him, at the instance of Mr. George Gray, he sent me a letter for Meer Sheer Aly, the Purnea Naib, which he informed me, was an order to give every assistance to the gentlemen residing at Malda, but I find it proved of no effect, as, I suppose, Mr. Gray has already acquainted you.

Mr. Hewitt has had two boats with a Dustuck stopped in the Purnea country for near three months, and there are many more on different parts of the river in the same situation. . . . This disregard of the Dustuck may be attended with the worst consequences to the Company's business, as well as private merchants. I therefore submit it to your determination, whether (since the Nabob seems to allow of it) it would be most eligible for us to punish severely any who may impede the carriage of merchandize having an English Dustuck.

Y, 2. — *Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council of Patna (Messrs. Ellis, Lushington, and Hewitt) to the Governor and Council.*

28. Jan. 1762.

SOME days ago Mr. Smith, being at Mow, informed the Chief from thence of one Coja Antoon, an Armenian, having seized five maunds of saltpetre, and sent it to Mongheer; in consequence



quence of which a party of Seapoys was detached to bring the Armenian prisoner to this Factory. On being examined, he acknowledged the fact, as likewise the inclosed letter, in answer to one which our Gomostah wrote to him on the subject.

Having not the least prospect of any redress from the Nabob, for this contempt of the Perwana, we have thought proper to send the Armenian under a guard to Calcutta, not doubting but that you will cause such a punishment to be inflicted on him, as may deter others from the like practices in future.

Y, 2. a. — *Extract of a Consultation of the eleventh of Feb. 1762. (Present Mes. Van Sittart, Amyatt, Johnstone and Hay)*

COJA Antoon, an Armenian, born at Delly, residing at Mulky, on behalf of Saidaram, the Naib of Coja Gregory (who rents eight gants in that part of the country) having been seized, and sent down by the Chief and Council at Patna, for having presumed to give a Dustuck for goods belonging to the Company, which had before their own proper Dustuck, likewise for taking from the Company's Nunneas five maunds of petre, being brought before the Board, was shewn the Dustuck which he gave with the goods, and the letter he wrote to our Gomastah regarding the five maunds of petre, and asked, whether he wrote them, and what were his reasons for so doing.

Coja Antoon acknowledges the Dustuck and letter to have been wrote by him, and declares, that he did not tear or take away the Company's Dustuck, but only took a copy of it, and returned it with a Dustuck under the seal of Saideram, to enable the goods to pass the gaunts belonging to Saideram; that it was always the custom to do

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so, and that he did the same with the Nabob's. With regard to the petre, he says, a Noonea, belonging to the Sircar, came from the opposite side of the river, in order to purchase ten rupees worth of petre; that he thereupon sent for one of the Company's Nooneas, and desired him to let the other have the petre, to which he readily consented; that as soon as the petre was obtained, he sent the Noonea, belonging to the Sircar, with the salt-petre across the river, accompanied by one of his own servants to prevent his being stopped.

The Board being of opinion, that upon the whole Coja Antoon has taken upon himself an authority, which he has no right to, and it being requisite that he be made an example of to prevent others from the like practices in future, but as he is a servant of the government's, it properly belonging to the Nabob to chastize him;

Agreed, he be sent back to Patna under a guard, and that the gentlemen there deliver him to the Nabob with a letter, which the President is desired to write to him, insisting upon his punishing Coja Antoon in a public manner, to prevent others from carrying the petre out of the country, and calling our Dustucks in question, and we desire the gentlemen at Patna to inform us particularly, what punishment he inflicts upon him.

*Z,2.—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 13 Feb. 1762.

**A** Company of Seapoys was detached down the river in quest of deserters, of which I apprized Rajebullub, and desired an order for the sergeant of the party to be permitted to search the Fort

Fort of Mongheer. This he assured me was sent down, but the sergeant, on his arrival near Mongheer, having dispatched a messenger to desire admittance, received an answer from one Shujan Sing (Coja Gregory's deputy) that if he did not keep out of the reach of his guns he would fire on him, and at the same time he posted all his people round the walls, upon which the sergeant, who had positive orders to give no offence to any person whatsoever, went about two coss off, where he remains with his party in the utmost distress for provisions, Shujan Sing having forbid any to be sold them. I have not yet ordered them back, because there is certain advice of four of our deserters being concealed in Mongheer Fort. This, gentlemen, is another instance of Armenian insolence.

A, 3. — *Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Consultation, 22 Feb. 1762.

THIS day, which is the nineteenth of the month Rajub, I have heard by a letter from Shujan Sing, Naib of the Fort of Mongheer, and from the advices of my Hircara, that two or three companies of Seapoys were sent out by Mr. Ellis, the Chief of the Factory at Patna, on the report of some soldiers who had deserted from the Factory to the west of Patna, who, accordingly arriving on a sudden near the Fort of Mongheer, marched against it, but finding the gates shut they surrounded the Fort. The Naib of the place fastened all the gates, and sat within in fear of his life and honour. I am ignorant what provocation has induced that gentleman to send Seapoys to attack the Fort of Mongheer. I have ever regarded



the solemn and sacred obligations of the treaty which subsists between us, and have in no instance failed in any of the duties of friendship. But why you, gentlemen, in defiance of the treaty, should thus commit hostilities against my Forts and my servants, I cannot conceive. Depending on your justice, and the inclination which you have shewn to befriend me in all my affairs in conformity with the treaty; "I have wrote you of this affair, and  
 "send you the advices abovementioned for your  
 "information. I am here taking such measures  
 "for regulating the concerns of this quarter as  
 "you might approve of, and have stationed men  
 "in the Forts and Tannauts." If this is contrary to your inclination intimate it to me that they may be recalled. What necessity was there to send an armed force against my people? Whatever you judge adviseable and proper on this occasion do you determine, and inform me, that I, who regard your satisfaction beyond every other consideration, may act agreeably thereto. The disgrace which my authority has suffered is beyond description.

P. S. Mr. Ellis having wrote to me, and requested a Perwana to Sheer Aly Cawn not to stop any goods, I have at this time received advice, that, for a trifling cause, that gentleman has disgraced and carried away Coja Antoon, the Aumil of Punohmala Purgunna, in the jurisdiction of Mongheer, a prisoner to the Factory. The answer which, on this occasion, I wrote to him, I send you inclosed, and desire you will read it.

A,3.a.—*Translation of a Letter from Rajebullub to the Nabob.*

THIS day, being Sunday the twenty-seventh of the month, Jemmady-ulfany at noon, Bya Seddaram the Pishcar of Coja Goorgheen Cawn came, and acquainted me, that Coja Antoon, an Armenian, who is one of his (Goorgheen Cawn's) kinsmen, and appointed by him to the charge of the affairs of Punohmala, &c. in the districts of Mongheer, was seized and carried away by about four hundred Europeans and Seapoys in the English service, who were dispatched to that place. The affair is this. It was reported, that he had bought a small quantity of salt-petre, which he was accused of having plundered from the Factory. I was going to send Golam Mahmud Cawn to enquire into this affair, when Bya Seddaram again sent me word, that they had brought Coja Antoon to the Factory. Accordingly I sent Golam Mahmud Cawn to Mr. Ellis, the Chief of the Factory, to represent to him, that Coja Antoon was a man of credit, and entrusted with affairs of great consequence under the government, and that to treat him in so violent a manner was improper, that if he would send him to me (which was proper) I would examine him. But this he would by no means consent to, but replied, that that man had done great prejudice to the business of the Factory, and that he would put him in irons, and send him to Calcutta. I again sent word, that he ought to send the said Coja to me, and if Mr. Ellis had any claim upon him, it should be debated before him. He answered, "I will neither release him nor send him to you, but he shall not be ill treated." I

have wrote this for your information, and wait your orders regarding this affair.

A,3.b.— *Copy of a Letter from Shujan Sing to Dewan Saddaram.*

**T**HIS day, being the thirteenth of the month Rejub, in the afternoon, a company of English troops arrived, and encamped first at Suffiabad. About two hours afterwards leaving Suffiabad they entered Mongheer by the road of the Bozar, and passing near the eastern gate came at once into the garden, which is a gun-shot to the north of the Fort, in a treacherous and designing manner, and there pitched the tents. As I was upon my guard in the Fort, they could not surprize it, but went into the garden, and placed guards around the Fort. Their design is certainly to deal treacherously by us, though what their motives are cannot be known, nor have they declared themselves. As their force is small, they have wrote to their Chief, that the Fort is so well secured that they cannot attack it, but if a reinforcement be sent them they will storm it. For this reason I wrote to you to acquaint you, that there is no danger from one or two companies, but if the Chief of the Factory at Patna should send a large force to their assistance, it will not be in my power to oppose them. We are but one hundred new-raised Burkundassies with the Seapoys and Peons, which belong to the garrison, and are ready to sacrifice ourselves to the service of our master. As you are in the place of my commander, I request you will dispatch two or three hundred good men speedily by water to my assistance. I shall do my duty, but you know that I have but a few men with me; and I before represented this  
to



to you. I request a speedy answer, and a supply of three or four hundred bullets and some lead. If the latter arrives, I can make bullets. What happens hereafter, I will advise you of.

A,3.c.—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 26 March 1762.

**Y**OUR friendly letter, dated the seventeenth of Shabaun, I have received, and I rejoice at the news of your welfare, you write, that “ Mr. Ellis applied to Mharajah Rajebullub, as “ Naib of Azimabad, and obtained from him a “ letter to Shujan Sing, the Kelladar of Mong- “ heer, which he sent him, and that the Mhara- “ jah, knowing himself to be Naib, wrote a letter “ and gave it; that the Kelladar would not suffer “ the sergeant to go into the Fort to look for the “ soldiers, and made a disturbance for a trifling “ affair; that I should write a Perwana to the “ said Kelladar, and order him to suffer the Fort “ to be searched for the soldiers, and that he be “ punished in case they be found there.”

Whatever you write is proper; yet from my first accession to the government, I have perceived that many English gentlemen were ill affected to me, and that the country was not in my own hands. The cause of the disaffection of those gentlemen I know not, you may. The cause of the country's not being in my own hands is this, that from the Factory of Calcutta to Cossimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English Chiefs with their Gomastahs, officers, and agents in every district of the government act as collectors, renters, Zemindars, and Taalucdars, and setting up the Company's colours allow no power to my officers.

And besides this, the Gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every Gunge, Pergunna and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things; and every man, with a Company's Dustuck in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company. In this case, I never can have any authority as long as I live. Nevertheless, I believed, and assured myself, that you would not listen to what slanderers might say of my proceedings, and that whenever I wrote to you about the oppressions of the Gomastahs, you would punish and keep them in bounds. But now, from the letters which I have twice received from you, it is evident, that whatever I write, you regard as a falsehood, and that whatever those gentlemen write, with a view of vilifying me, and rendering me contemptible, that you give credit to. I have no remedy.

Rajebullub as Naib might have written, and given a letter about such an affair, when I was not within two or three days journey of Patna. But whilst I am at hand, what authority has he to proceed in such an affair without my knowledge. Therefore he strongly denies, that he wrote such a letter, as you must have known before this from his letter which I sent you. This circumstance ought to be enquired into; because if he did write, and give such a letter, and then denied it to me, it is certain, that he had a design to disturb the friendship between us, and in that case I will punish him as he deserves, as a warning to other incendiaries.

How could Shujan Sing give liberty to any one to enter the Fort? There is a great difference between sending a company and a single sergeant. Since, from the union between us, I look upon the Company's forces as my own, and their Forts and mine as the same; in this business one note or

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one sergeant would have been sufficient. What occasion was there for sending a company? I myself have never entertained an European in the Fort, and what power has Shujan Sing to entertain any without my knowledge? What service could my affairs reap from four or five Europeans, or what important employment could I give them, that I should offend my friends for so trifling an occasion? And since I well know, and you yourself are sensible, that if I should apply to you for two or four hundred Europeans, you would immediately grant them, why should I entertain four or five in secret? . . . . And what is Shujan Sing's fault. I have not allowed entrance into the Fort. The reason is, that Mr. Ellis commits open acts of hostility against me, raises calumnies against me, corresponds with my enemies, and instead of a single letter sends two hundred Seapoys; and all that he has written to you is utterly false. I have made a strict enquiry, and am certain, that there is not an English deserter in the Fort of Mongheer. Till you, and the gentlemen of the Council, do me justice in this affair, and send me some person from Calcutta to enquire into it, and bring the slanderer to shame, I will, upon no account, permit the Fort to be searched. That gentleman has invented this false charge against me to-day, and you, upon his information, without any enquiry, order me to let the Fort be searched. Another day, if he writes, that a dependant of your's or European is concealed in my tent, or my house, and that I am an enemy of the Company's, you will believe him, mistrust me, and order me to suffer a search to be made there likewise.



A, 3. d.—*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 24 May 1762.

YOU write me, that “ to carry on so long a  
 “ correspondence in so trifling an affair,  
 “ which is nothing more than whether search shall  
 “ be made for some European deserters, from  
 “ hence you perceive, it is the intention of some  
 “ designing persons to breed a diffention between  
 “ me and the Company : that if Shujan Sing had  
 “ permitted the sergeant to go into the Fort, and  
 “ look for the deserters, there would have been  
 “ an end of the dispute : that I should believe  
 “ you firm to the treaty and your engagements,  
 “ nor hearken to the suggestions of designing  
 “ persons, but remove them from me.”

Though I have ever continued firm to the treaty and to my engagements, though I have maintained my faith to you inviolable, with my heart and soul, and am resolved, whilst I live, to persevere in the duties of friendship ; yet Mr. Ellis, from his inveterate enmity against me, invents falsehoods, and writes them to you. It grieves me, that you should pay such regard to what he writes, conclude every thing that I write to be false, and still tell me to let the Fort be searched, and treat this affair, which is the greatest mark of indignity and distrust, as a trifle.

It is amazing, that you have not discovered who is the designing person between you and me. I have no designing person about me. If upon enquiry, any such be discovered, I will punish him as he deserves. If I write, that such a person in your society is the designing man, you will not believe me. Before this, I sent you inclosed a letter of the Nabob Salar Jung's Naib of the Vizer. From  
 thence

thence you must have seen what person is an enemy to my country and life. You are my protector; and your Chief, sitting at Patna, writes letters in enmity to me to the Court, and proclaims with a loud voice, in public company, that "I am going to the South, and that he will send two thousand Europeans who shall level the Fort of Mongheer with the earth; that his Majesty is about to restore the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, or the family of Surfray Cawn, that he has written letters to the Company, and it will be seen what answer will arrive." . . . . How long shall I write on these matters, or what profit do I get by writing?

A,3.e.—*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Ironside to the Governor.*

Dated 27 April 1762.

**E**ARLY this morning, Mr. Hastings arrived at Mongheer. About a mile and an half from the town, he found a party of our's encamped, consisting of one sergeant and a compleat company of Seapoys, who came some time in February last, and remained here by order. By a strict prohibition of the Nabob, produced by the Kelladar, they have been constantly refused admittance into the Fort, and whenever they approach the town, either singly or in small bodies, the gates are always closed against them. The sergeant mentions to have received notice, about the latter end of February, of two Europeans who were said by the town's people to be then in the place, but that he himself has never seen them, nor heard of them since, any where about the country.

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In consequence of your's and Mr. Hastings's order, I was in the Fort to-day for some hours, the sergeant and two Seapoys with me, who as well as myself were acquainted with the place. We dispersed several ways, and made a strict but ineffectual search.

One European, indeed, I met with, a lame Frenchman, who has been a long while in the Nabob's service, has lost an arm in it, and tells me, that he was sent to this garrison about six months ago. I examined this man very particularly concerning the deserters, and accompanied my questions with promises of freedom and a handsome recompence, if he would discover to me where they were; but he absolutely assured me, that there were not only none here at present, but that he had never seen a single European in the Fort since his coming.

Upon enquiry in the town, the same answers were returned. From these accounts I am apt to believe, whatever deserters might have taken shelter there, they have been long gone from thence. The extreme misery of the wretch, to whom I offered the gratuity, seems to confirm this opinion, since he would scarcely have rejected such terms of protection and reward, for declaring what could in no manner affect him to his detriment. He is very anxious for his liberty, which Mr. Hastings intends to solicit for to the Nabob.

About this time, the beginning of the year 1762, a conspiracy was detected against the Nabob's person, which was carried on by Seetaran Dewan, Sheik Sadoolla Jemmadar (two of the Nabob's chief confidants) and Narrain Sing, and Muttromel, Hircaras. It was discovered by some intercepted letters from the conspirators to Pulwan Sing, and the other Bougepoor Zemindars. Only one of them is here inserted, as it will serve

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to shew, by the arguments made use of, the unhappy consequences of Mr. Ellis's conduct, and the encouragement which it gave to the Nabob's enemies.

A, 3. f. — *Translation of a Letter from Seetaram to Raja Pulwan Sing.*

**I** Long much to see you. I have already wrote you the particulars, which you have doubtless perused. God grant you may soon return to your own country, and there is great probability that that will soon happen, for the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn and the Europeans are at variance, and Mr. Ellis (Chief of the English Factory at Patna) and Goorgheen Cawn are great enemies to each other, and Mr. Ellis has sent an army of Seapoys to take Mongheer Fort. In this situation, the Nabob cannot remain in this country. It appears, that he will take the Delly road, on account of the disputes between him and the Europeans. Shuja Doula will shortly be in possession of this Province, and you will be in possession of your Zemindary, so make yourself quite easy.

As soon as the Nabob had possession of these letters, he summoned Seetaram into his presence, charged him with his crime in the presence of several hundreds of people, many of them of distinction, who were assembled on this occasion, and produced other proofs of his guilt. He appealed to the assembly for their sentence on him, which was unanimous, that he was guilty, and deserved to suffer death. A few days after, Narrain Sing, and Muttromul underwent the same trial, and the same fate. Shick Sadoolla, who was encamped at some distance, refused to obey the summons. The Nabob detached a body of forces

forces against him, with orders to bring him before him alive or dead. He stood on his defence, and was killed.

B,3.—*Copy of Mr. Hastings's Instructions.*

15 March 1762.

WE have observed, for some time past, an uneasiness or jealousy in the Nabob's conduct, which we can attribute to nothing but the false reports and representations of mischievous persons, and being desirous of convincing him, that we wish for nothing more than to preserve the present tranquillity of the country, to avoid all disputes, and to conform to the terms of the treaty subsisting between him and the Company, we think proper to depute you, in whom the Nabob has great confidence, to make him those assurances in our behalf.

At the same time, we should be extremely glad to discover, who have been the secret authors of this growing jealousy. We imagine, there may be some, as well amongst the persons, living under our protection, as about the Nabob's person. You may assure the Nabob, that we shall severely punish those who belong to us whenever we can fix the guilt, and you will strenuously recommend to him to do the same on his part.

The sooner you can set out on this commission, the better, that the bad effects, which the want of confidence between us and the Nabob might occasion in the country, may be prevented.

B,3.a.—*The*

B, 3. a.— *The next Council Day but one, Mr. Amyatt made a Motion in the following Terms.*

**M**R. Amyatt recollects, the President having mentioned, that twenty lacks of rupees were promised by Cossim Aly Cawn to the Board, but that he would not consent to this money's being received till the debt to the Company was paid. As that is now satisfied; Mr. Amyatt is of opinion, it should be made a part of Mr. Hastings's instructions to endeavour to recover the promised twenty lacks, and when recovered, that instead of being distributed amongst the members of the Council, which could not fail raising a suspicion that our assents to the Revolution were bought, the money should be brought to the credit of the Company.

As Mr. Amyatt could not sincerely think the Company had a right to make such a demand upon the Nabob, it is impossible to assign any other reason for this motion than, an intention of frustrating by so unjust and vexatious a dispute the good end proposed from Mr. Hastings's deputation, and effectually shutting up all the ways of reconciliation, by a demand which every one knew the Nabob would reject with astonishment. However, Mess. Johnstone and Hay joined heartily in this demand, and whether they thought Major Carnac's opinion would add weight to their resolutions, or whether they were unwilling to deprive him of a share in every opportunity of insulting the Nabob, or whether it was the Major's own desire to be a party on this occasion, it was moved, that he should be called to the Board, although it is very certain, according to the Company's regulations, he could not sit there on such a subject.



a subject. . . . . The opinions given by the several members, and by myself, with respect to the proposed demand, were these following.

B, 3. b. — *The following is the Substance of the Debate upon the Motion for calling Major Carnac to the Board, upon this Occasion.*

**M**R. Johnstone moves, that the opinion of the Colonel and Major should be asked, with regard to the instructions to be given to Mr. Hastings.

The question being put, whether the Colonel and Major should be desired to attend.

Mess. Hay, Johnstone, and Amyatt, are of opinion, the company's intention in their sixty-third paragraph, mentioning military affairs and matters relative thereto, implies, that Colonel Coote and Major Carnac are to be present and consulted in affairs of such a publick nature as deputations, alliances, and in drawing up instructions for whoever may be sent in such publick character on the part of the Board, when the national honour and the company's business are interested.

The Governor thinks, that the Company's instructions in the sixty-fourth paragraph of their commands, of the 13th of March, 1761, are very plain, that neither Colonel Coote, nor Major Carnac, are Members either of the Board, or the Select Committee, excepting in cases where military affairs only are under debate. These are the words of the Company's letter, and need no explanation, and are apparently intended to limit the meaning of the word *relative*, which stands in the foregoing paragraph, and which can be understood only of negotiations to be carried on with any foreign power, with a view to some projected

projected military operation. He thinks the instructions to Mr. Hastings are no ways relative to military affairs; yet it is not at all disagreeable to him to have the advice of those gentlemen, if the rest of the Board think it will be for the good of the Company.

B,3.c.—*Mr. Hay's Minute.*

AS it appears to me from the President's declaration, that the bond for this money was given to the Members of the Board that were then present in Calcutta, and that Mr. Holwell was one of them; from its being the only advantage gained by the treaty with Cossim Aly Cawn, except his promise to get the Nabob Meer Jaffier Cawn to make over the revenues of the lands, now possessed by the Company, for the maintenance of our troops in his service, and that the only expence and risk of putting in Cossim Aly Cawn, for which he promised and gave a bond for this twenty lacks, must fall on the Company; I think, that they have an undoubted right to the money; and that it should be demanded of the Nabob on their account; and in case he refuses payment on account of the bond's being returned, that he should be made to understand, that it was returned without proper authority, and not by an order of the Board.

*Mr. Johnstone's Minute.*

Mr. Johnstone thinks, Mr. Hastings should be directed to ask this sum promised by Cossim Aly Cawn, in consequence of the service to be rendered him by the representatives of the Company, and by their power and influence, which may therefore be considered as the Company's due. Otherwise, the proceedings of their servants, in the advance-

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ment of Cossim Aly Cawn, would be liable to the suspicions, that their motives were other than those they have declared; that when Cossim Aly Cawn tendered his bond to the members then present in Calcutta, the Company might have expected their agents to have accepted and transferred it to their account, from the same spirit of disinterestedness as the only immediate advantage then offered, especially as the Company run the risk, and supplied the force and expence required for this revolution; and he joins in opinion with Mr. Hay, that as the bonds were not returned by a regular deed of the Council, the amount may be still demanded and recovered of the Nabob.

*Major Carnac's Minute.*

Major Carnac is of opinion, the demand proposed to be made to the Nabob by Mes. Amyatt, Johnstone, and Hay, of the twenty lacks ought to be done, were it only in justification of themselves; for however innocent the gentlemen of the Board may be, the world probably imagines, that they have all received some pecuniary consideration, in return for having appointed Cossim Aly Cawn to the Soubadaree, whereas from this demand being made, the contrary will appear upon record. If the Nabob refuses, which I think he will and ought, we are justified at once; and if he grants it, there is so much gained to the Company.

*The President's Minute.*

That a right judgment may be formed, whether the demand proposed by Mr. Amyatt to be made upon the Nabob of twenty lacks of rupees is reasonable or not, it seems necessary to recite  
here



here all the circumstances of the case, on which he would found the claim. . . . I have informed the Nabob more than once, and particularly in consultation, 12 Jan. 1761, that Cossim Aly Cawn (now the Nabob) at the time of concluding the treaty with him, in the month of September 1760, desired to make a present to myself and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee then at Calcutta. I have as often mentioned, that I immediately and absolutely declined the said offer for myself and the rest of the gentlemen, observing to Cossim Aly Cawn, that in the agreements entered into with him, we had no other view but the restoring order to the country, and settling a more certain fund for supplying the unavoidable expences of the Company, then so ill provided for, that our troops at Patna had been some months without their pay, at the same time that the Nabob's own affairs were in so distressed a condition, that he was every day in danger of losing his life by the mutinous attempts of his troops.

The paper, which Cossim Aly Cawn delivered me, containing this proposal, I returned the very moment I had read it. It was wrote in Persian, and, to the best of my recollection, was to the following purport: "That three months after his appointment to the Neabut, or deputy government under the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, he would give twenty lacks of rupees to Mess. Van Sittart, Holwell, Caillaud, Sumner, and M'Gwire." These four gentlemen entirely approved of my refusal of this offer, and what I said on the occasion to Cossim Aly Cawn, who was however a good deal surprized and uneasy at it. Afterwards at Moorsshedabad, when Jaffier Aly Cawn declared his resolution to retire to Calcutta, and Cossim Aly Cawn was proclaimed Subah of the Provinces, he renewed the same offer, and I again

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declined

declined it in the same terms, adding, that if he found himself capable of raising money enough to answer the monthly payments of the Company's balance, and satisfy the troops of Jaffier Aly Cawn, and had besides any thing to spare, he might make the Company a present of five lacks over and above his agreements, to be sent to Madras to help defray the expences of the army before Pondicherry, to which he immediately consented.

I returned from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, without receiving directly or indirectly a single rupee from the Nabob, or any other person by his order and direction, and I can venture to aver as much for Colonel Caillaud, Mr. Hastings, and the other gentlemen who were with me.

About two months after, the Nabob sent me a compliment of a bill for twenty-five thousand rupees, upon the occasion of the birth of my son. I laid this before the Board in consultation, the twelfth of January 1761, and declared, that as I had rejected for myself and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, all offers of private emolument, and had not received a single rupee from the Nabob, so neither would I, while a doubt subsisted with respect to the money he had engaged to pay the Company, or the long arrears of his predecessor's troops; accordingly the twenty-five thousand rupees were paid into the Company's treasury.

Since that, the Nabob has, by a surprizing diligence in the regulation of the affairs of his government, discharged not only the payments due to the Company, with the addition of the promised five lacks, but has also satisfied his predecessor's and his own troops, notwithstanding the cession to the Company of Burdwan, Midnipoor,

and

and Chittagong, made a very large deduction from his revenues.

The amount the Company have received from the Nabob, is about twenty-six lacks of \* Sicca rupees, as by receipt in full entered, after consultation, 8 February 1762, and from the said countries, ceded as before mentioned, we have received to the thirty-first of January last above fifty-three lacks of † Current rupees, as by abstracted account transmitted to the honourable Court of Directors by the Warren.

After this, I cannot see upon what pretence we can demand of the Nabob a farther sum of twenty lacks of rupees. If we were in distress for money for carrying on the Company's affairs, and were, on that account, under a necessity of requesting of the Nabob to lend us such a sum, I have that opinion of him as to think, that he would comply with the request if in his power, or even give it, if such an application was to be made to him as a favour requested for the Company.

And, on the other hand, if the demand of such a sum was set up without the least just plea, I think he will not only excuse himself from complying with so unreasonable a claim, but will also look upon it as a mark, that we are not inclined to observe on our part, the treaty which he has so well fulfilled on his, and in which it is agreed, that we shall ask nothing more than the monies therein promised, and the cessions therein stipulated. Consequently such a demand would very much add to the uneasiness which the Board have of late observed

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\* A Sicca rupee is worth about two shillings eight pence half-penny, reckoning the current rupee at two shillings four pence.

† A current rupee is reckoned worth two shillings four pence.



served in the Nabob, and which one and all have expressed a desire of finding out the cause of, and removing. The demand now proposed tends to aggravate that uneasiness, instead of removing it. I hope, such is not Mr. Amyatt's view in making the proposal, but it is hard to conceive from what motive it can have proceeded. Certainly, it is not from pure regard for the Company, nor from any conviction of the justness of the claim; for he never thought of offering the Company what he received of the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn's present to the Council and Committee, nor ever gave it as his opinion, that the Company had a right to it.

For my own part, I think, that neither the Company, nor I, nor any other person, have any claim or demand upon the Nabob of any sort, that there is not even an appearance of justice in Mr. Amyatt's proposal, and that the prosecution of it could have none but bad consequences.

*B, 3. d.—The Majority of the Board agreeing, that the proposed Demand should be made upon the Nabob, the following Postscript was accordingly added to Mr. Hastings's Instructions.*

**A**ND we farther direct you to apply to the Nabob for the twenty lacks of rupees, the amount of the bond he gave at the time the treaty was made with him to the members of the Select Committee then present in Calcutta, to which sum, notwithstanding they returned the bond, we conceive the Company have a title. You will, therefore, use your best endeavours to recover the same as soon as possible, as the tranquillity of the country,

country, by the success of our arms, has undoubtedly enabled him to discharge the above obligation.

B, 3. e. — *Mr. Amyatt judging it necessary to make some Reply to the Arguments contained in the President's Minute, it is here inserted, lest it should be said, that any thing is omitted, although not material to the present Subject.*

THE Minute, given in by the President the twenty-second of March, has not, in the least altered the sentiments of Mr. Amyatt, in regard to the demand proposed by him to be made from Cossim Aly Cawn of the twenty lacks of rupees for the use of the Company, as he finds nothing in the Minute to invalidate the reason, which induced him to propose, that the demand should be made, nor did any Minute or expression of Mr. Van Sittart's ever imply such money was not to be received, but the contrary, and only rested the payment of it to the Nabob's generosity after his other expences were defrayed, which was not risking much; for while we remain so powerful in this country, such a promise the Nabob will look on as binding as a bond, and the taking a bond might have bad appearances, for it is acknowledged, that a paper was received from him containing a promise of twenty lacks of rupees to Mess. Van Sittart, Caillaud, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire. Now, it is not to be imagined, that he would have offered so large a sum to these gentlemen, to the exclusion of the other members of the Council and Select Committee (an offer before unprecedented) but as a consideration to engage them to conclude with him a treaty, from whence he was to reap so much advantage,

without regard to the opinions of the rest of the Board. As therefore they could have no right to receive money upon such terms, and Mr. Amyatt is willing to believe they have not, if they thought proper of themselves to sign a treaty on the part of our honourable masters, the consideration for so doing ought to be paid to those who were to be the only losers, in case of ill consequences arising thencefrom. The parallel between the present received by Mr. Amyatt, in common with the whole Board, as well as with the army and navy, and this of twenty lacks, intended for five gentlemen only, is as unjust, as it would be to make parallel between the two revolutions; the one established in consequence of the overthrow of a common enemy; the other in direct breach of the former engagements, the act of only part of the Council, and to which, had all its members been consulted, the majority would probably have objected. Mr. Amyatt wishes, he could agree with the President, that the Nabob is well disposed towards us; if that were the case, there would be no necessity, at this time, of our sending Mr. Hastings up to him. The whole tenor of his conduct demonstrates the contrary. He is keeping up and daily encreasing a rabble of an army at an immense expence, which he can do from no other motives but from distrust and a desire of being independent of us, as he may command, by virtue of the treaty, the service of our troops for all occasions. He now remains at the extremity of the country through his suspicions of us, and in order to be at a greater distance from our settlements, has determined on removing the seat of his government to Rajamaul; and indeed it is no wonder he should entertain these suspicions, as he can have no security that we will keep our faith with him better than we did with his father-in-law, to whom



whom we were bound by engagements more solemn than those since entered into with him; nor can he ever acquit himself of his own treachery to Jaffier Aly Cawn, which must ever keep alive the suspicions now burning in his breast. Mr. Amyatt does not allow the smallest degree of merit to Cossim Aly Cawn, for having discharged the payments due to the Company and his troops. His being in a condition to do so was entirely owing to the happy change of affairs by the defeat of the Shazada. The same success would have equally enabled Meer Jaffier to do so. But, moreover, Cossim Aly Cawn has taken the opportunity of the tranquillity of the country to commit the most unheard of exactions and oppressions, and (as a farther proof of his regard for us) more particularly against such as were our avowed friends. Ramnarain with many others are now the unhappy instances thereof, by the giving up of whom and becoming in every thing since subservient to the Nabob's views, without keeping up any interest or friendship with any other of the leading men in the country, there is not a man of any rank or consequence, as dare so much as visit, or have the least connection with any of our chiefs or commanders, as their letters to this Board at different times can testify.

B, 3.f. — *To which the President answered these few Words to close the Subject.*

THE President begs leave to observe, that the treaty entered into with Cossim Aly Cawn, properly came under the province of the Select Committee, and all the members thereof, who were present in Calcutta, were unanimous in their approbation of it. . . . As to the remarks on the consequences of that treaty, they are the same

same as have already been often mentioned, and to which we may expect shortly the sentiments and directions of our honourable masters.

C,3.—*Translation of the Nabob's Reply to the Representations of the Board.*

**T**HAT you gentlemen should unreasonably demand twenty lacks of rupees of me surprises me greatly. This is a behaviour unworthy men of dignity, in whom it is doubtless improper, after having refused a thing, to contradict themselves, and demand it in the name of their masters. It is true, I formerly offered to give such a sum to Mr. Van Sittart, and some other gentlemen, but they positively refused it, saying, "We are wellwishers of the Company, and desire nothing for ourselves, give the Company the three Provinces of Burdwan, &c. and that is sufficient." Now most of the gentlemen, to whom I made this offer, have left the country, and as to the one or two, who still remain here, I do not think that they will demand it of me. You, Sir, who are come to this place to bring so unjust a claim, on what pretence, and with what design do you do it? You ought to keep in view, gentlemen, the agreement I made with you in relation to the affairs of the Company, wherein, when I agreed to give them the three Provinces of Burdwan, &c. you promised on their part, and gave it me in writing, that, after having received those Provinces, you would not ask a farthing more of me. Having accordingly fully complied with my agreements, I did besides, at the instance and desire of Mr. Van Sittart, and of my own free will, give the Company five lacks of rupees over and above, willing thereby to give Mr. Van Sittart a credit with the Company, and that they might

might regard me as their friend in every respect. By the grace of God, I have compleatly fulfilled the treaty, and have not, in a single instance, deviated from it. Yet, gentlemen, notwithstanding this treaty, which you solemnly made with me, and ratified with the seal of the Company, you now demand a sum of money from me, which I have never borrowed of you, nor obliged myself to pay, nor have you in any manner the least claim on me. I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand. This new custom which you are endeavouring to set up in violation of the treaty between us, this custom so calculated for raising a disturbance, I will not admit nor hear of.

You say, that I should remove out of my mind whatever jealousy I may have of the English. This particular surprized me much, for, from what that I have said does this jealousy appear? And who has reported such a falshood to you? It is proper, that you should make due enquiry into this affair. I have before wrote to the Governor of the proceedings of your dependents; and it is the way of the world, that amongst fathers and sons, brothers, friends, and intimates, differences will sometimes arise, but soon give place to friendship and benevolence, nor were any of these matters of such consequence, that from them you should suspect my sincerity, and send me a message so different from the rules and language of friendship.

You are pleased to say, there are mischievous and malevolent men who propagate scandalous stories of you gentlemen. I have before wrote repeatedly, that whatever villain in my council dare speak ill of you before me, the moment he were known he should be punished. Now, if such an one is known to you, gentlemen, write me his name, that I may make an example of him. Many  
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new Factories have been established in every part of the country, both on the Company's account, and by private gentlemen, and a trade carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never the custom to trade in. To this day, neither I nor my people have ever offered them the least obstruction, nor caused them the loss of one rupee. It grieves me, that without cause or enquiry, you gentlemen, suffer such suspicions to take place in your hearts, and declare them to me your friend. Who it is belonging to yourselves that is continually speaking ill of me, propagating calumnies against me, and representing me to you as your enemy is not unknown to you. The acts of violence committed by Mr. Ellis before my face, the insults on my people, and the disturbances raised in the country, my authority rendered contemptible to all Indostan, and obstructions thrown in the way of every business of the government in the Province of Bahar. . . . All these have I fully represented in my letter to Mr. Van Sittart from the beginning till now; nor shall I dwell on such a subject afresh, because I am well persuaded, that Mr. Van Sittart, and the gentlemen of the Council, will make strict enquiry into this affair, and bring to condign punishment whoever without cause or reason has acted as my enemy, that for the future no one may give interruption to my business, nor interfere in the affairs of my government. Until you make enquiry into his behaviour, and bring him to punishment, my authority will never be established.

You say, that I should look upon the friendship and treaties of Englishmen as sincere and inviolable. . . . I have been long convinced, gentlemen, that our friendship would by no means be interrupted, and that in spite of the mischievous slanders of malicious men, the foundations of our  
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amity would be unshaken, because I know for certain, that the English never break their treaties and agreements, and that all their enquiries are sincere and impartial.

C,3.a.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Ellis.*

Dated Sarfaram, 13 May 1762.

IT was a disappointment to me, that I could not see you at Patna before I proceeded to the Nabob's camp. You cannot be ignorant of the commission, which I have received from the Board, with which my inclinations so heartily concur, that I should have eagerly embraced every occasion to create a good understanding between the Nabob and every person employed in any post of consequence under the Company, knowing how essential such a temper is to the success of our affairs. I was in hopes, that a meeting with you might have enabled me the more effectually to promote this design, as you could have instructed me with the causes of the late disagreements between yourself and the Nabob, and pointed out such expedients as were the most likely to remedy them.

Your motives for denying me that opportunity (which tho' but as a compliment due to a Member of your own Board, I might have expected) are best known to yourself. However, setting aside all personal considerations, I am yet willing to give you and the world a proof of my desire to remove every occasion of distrust or dissention, which may disturb the publick affairs, in offering you freely my assistance to promote a better disposition between the Nabob and yourself, than I find at present subsisting.

I will

I will not conceal from you, that he charges you with attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the Company, and has declared it in his reply to the message which I carried him from the Board.

I confess, I am not pleased to interfere in such a subject, but would rather wish to conciliate matters were it in my power. For this reason, I have deferred delivering the Nabob's reply, in my letters to the Board, till I receive your answer, with which I hope to be soon favoured,

C, 3.b.—*To this letter Mr. Ellis made the following Reply.*

Dated Singia, 17 May 1762.

**I** AM this moment favoured with your's of the 13th. It was impossible for me to know that our meeting was in any degree necessary unless you had told me so; for to this time I am no further acquainted with the Commission you have received from the Board, than what was once mentioned in a private letter, viz. to remove the Nabob's jealousies. Neither do I think any Member of the Board could reasonably expect, that I should pay him the compliment of travelling fifteen miles at this season, when he never advised me of his approach, without which I could be at no certainty, either as to the time of his arrival, or stay at Patna; and, indeed, common report informed me of your having set out for the Nabob's camp some days before it seems you did.

The laudable desires you express of removing every occasion of distrust or disagreement that may disturb the public affairs, be assured, shall meet with every assistance in my power, nor can  
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you with more ardently for the effecting so good a work, than I do myself. The causes of the Nabob's late behaviour I cannot account for, unless it be my not having concurred in sentiment with those gentlemen who raised him to the Musnud. From the time of my taking charge of the Company's affairs in this province, I have ever been solicitous to keep up a harmony and good understanding, not only with the Nabob but his officers; they, on the contrary, have been most industrious to destroy it. Twice has the city of Patna been alarmed with a report, that the English intended to attack it; and, in consequence thereof, guns mounted, guards augmented, gates shut, and admittance denied to every one belonging to the factory; and all this without the least plausible pretence whatever being given.

The falsehoods industriously propagated of my design to take Mongheer you can be no stranger to, nor the ridiculous light in which they appear. On all occasions, the English are represented as the Nabob's greatest enemies; and it is notorious, that no man, who values his favour, dare appear in the factory.

The Nabob accuses me of attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the Company. After what he has accused other gentlemen of, nothing of this kind is surprizing. However, a general charge amounts to very little. This term he has, without any grounds, given to my seizing Coja Antoine. I had before made repeated complaints to him, of the interruption given our business, which being little or not at all regarded, it became a duty incumbent on me, to take other measures for securing one of the most valuable branches of the Company's commerce. Of the insults received in the seizure, detention, and loss of my boats, I before acquainted you, as likewise  
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of the affront the Nabob has given me in not answering my letters ; but notwithstanding the first or second instance of this kind, I continued writing to him on business, till my Hircarabs were ill treated in his camp.

The first grand step towards obtaining the desired end will be, for the Nabob to remove from about his person all those, who at present poison his mind with false and idle stories. Let him esteem the English as his best and only friends, and as such place an entire confidence in them. If any cause of disgust appear, let him apply to those who are entrusted with the management of the Company's affairs, to have the matter cleared up, which he may always be assured of. For my own part, I shall never do any thing but what I will assert to him and the world ; and I appeal to Rajebullub, or any other person in office at Patna, whether upon any complaint being lodged against our servants under my jurisdiction, I have not given them a speedy and ample satisfaction ; and all I desire is, that they would act in the same manner towards the servants of the government, who insult and treat us ill. This would create a mutual confidence, and put an end to the present dissention.

C,3.c.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor and Council.*

Dated Jummor, 24 May 1762.

UPON my arrival at the Nabob's camp, I informed him of the substance of my instructions, and added such assurances as I judged most conducive to remove any distrust that might have arisen in his mind. His reply I have the honour to transmit to you, in the inclosed paper, which

which I received from him signed with his own hand, and I shall wait your further commands for my conduct in relation to the matters contained therein.

I will not take upon me to judge of the disputes which have arisen between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, nor am I properly qualified to give my sentiments upon them, being as yet only acquainted with the complaints of the former. But, I think, I cannot better acquit myself of the task which you have enjoined me, and which my duty to the service requires from me, than by offering my opinion in general, that in all differences between the Company's servants or inferior agents, and the government, if proper justice cannot be obtained from the Nabob, or those authorized to act under him, application should be made to the Board, and no person be allowed on any pretence to use violent means for the redress of his own grievances. This method till lately has been constantly and universally observed in all our concerns, not only before the restoration of the Company's privileges, but by those who have since had the administration of their affairs, and who will hardly be suspected of having neglected the honour of the nation, or the interest of their employers. In effect, it is only by reserving to yourselves the privileges of deciding on all matters of contention, that the authority of the Board can be maintained, or the publick tranquillity secured.

C, 3.d.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Ellis.*

Dated Jummor, 27 May 1762.

**T**HIS complaint having been sent through my hands, I will deal so openly with you,



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as to give you this timely notice of it, by sending you an extract of that part of his letter which concerns yourself.

C,3.e.—*To these are added some other Letters of the President's Correspondence with Mr. Hastings, which relate to the Disputes between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, and shew the Pains ineffectually taken to make Peace between them.*

C,3.f.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor.*

Sarseram, 13 May 1762.

I Desired Mr. Ironside to inform you, yesterday, of our arrival at Sarseram on the 9th instant. I proceeded directly to the Nabob's tent. He received me with great politeness, and enquired in a friendly manner after your health. This visit passed only in general conversation. The next evening I opened to him the subject of my commission from the Board, which I gave him in writing, and pretty nearly in the correspondent words of the letter, the postscript excepted, which I read to him from the original, and (not without some difficulty) explained to him.

He expressed much dissatisfaction, that he should be charged with entertaining a jealousy of the English; which, he said, argued some misbehaviour in him towards them, as the consequence of such sentiments, and challenged me to mention one instance of his having betrayed a want of confidence in the Company, or deviated from the treaty with them. It is true, he added, he had frequent subject of complaint against the English

English dependants; but that made no alteration in his engagements with their principals, or his particular obligations to you. . . . He was as little pleased with the assertion, that the people about his person had given occasion to any difference between him and the English. He desired, that they might be named; and declared, that on whomsoever such a fact was proved he would put him to death; but (proceeded he) “if you are yet at a loss to know who it is amongst yourselves that strives to create a misunderstanding between us, I will name him. It is Mr. Ellis, who by his acts of violence committed on my servants, and the unprovoked attacks which he is daily making upon my authority, has not only given encouragement to my enemies, and the disaffected people in my own service, but has given occasion to such reports to the discredit of my government at the Court of Shuja Doula, as might be of the worst consequence to my affairs.”

With regard to Mr. Ellis, I am at a loss how to act. His behaviour in my opinion has been so imprudent, and his disaffection to the Nabob so manifestly inveterate, that a proper representation of it could not fail to draw upon him the severest resentment of the Company. But, besides my aversion to violent measures, the length of time before the Company's notice of these affairs could reach us, and the support that the most glaring misconduct in him would meet with from a majority of the Board, have inclined me rather to make choice of such means, as may be more likely to conciliate than inflame our mutual animosities. With this view I have wrote to Mr. Ellis a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, and will acquaint you with his answer. If he accepts of my offer, I will do him every good office that

I can with the Nabob. If he declines it, I will not only let the Nabob pursue his own measures, but will even join him in endeavouring to confute the aspersions which have been made use of to ruin his credit with the Company.

C,3.g.—*Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings.*

Dated 26 May 1762.

I HAD the pleasure to receive this morning your favour of the 13th. The Nabob's answer to the representation you made him on the part of the Board, is exactly uniform with all his former declarations in regard to the disputes that have arisen between him and Mr. Ellis; and this uniformity is a strong proof with me, that he speaks with a good conscience, and has reason on his side. However, as I love peace and quietness, and have learnt to make allowances for the different tempers and passions of different men; I approve entirely of your endeavours to conciliate matters between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, and wish that the latter may accept of your good offices. If not, you can do no otherwise than represent fully to the Board, the Nabob's answer to the subject matter of your instructions.

C,3.h.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor.*

Dated Jummor, 26 May 1762.

THE world judging only from facts, sees the Nabob's authority publicly insulted, his officers imprisoned, seapoys sent against his forts; and is told, that the chief of the English  
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in these parts disavows the Nabob's right to the Subaship. The obvious end of such symptoms is an open rupture. The Nabob's enemies receive encouragement from this hope, and the traitors about his person use it as an argument to them to persist in their revolt. Shuja Doula is informed, that the English have actually commenced hostilities with the Nabob, nor need I take notice how fatal such a notion might prove to the Nabob and to us, was not Shuja Doula too much engaged with other designs to take advantage of the weakness of this government.

When I accepted of this commission, I pleased myself with the hopes of being an instrument of reconciling all differences between the Nabob and the English, and putting an end to all animosities. This I now find an impossible task. The gentlemen, who have taken upon them to condemn his promotion, have too publickly proclaimed their disapprobation of that measure, and their hatred to the Nabob, which have been repeated to him, probably with exaggerations. He has been told, that Mess. Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac, have in their letters to their friends in England, used every argument to procure an order from the Company, to annul the measures taken in favour of him, and represented his character in the most hateful terms; that Mr. Fullerton was also charged to assist in person their project of deposing him, and that they have sworn together to his ruin; that they have discovered a flaw in his title to the Subaship from our treaty, &c. &c. True or false the Nabob has received these stories from their intimate acquaintance, who may have forged a part, but could not have invented the whole.

I had always flattered myself with the hopes that the Company's approbation of the revolution

in favour of Meer Cossim would have been such, as to have restrained the designs of the party formed against him, and these hopes were greatly encouraged by the letter which arrived in the Month of April. But the second, which arrived not a month after, was expressed in such ambiguous terms, as might easily be construed by a party-spirit into a disapprobation of it.

D,3.—*Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal.*

Dated 19 June 1761.

UPON perusal of the said several letters and papers, we have the agreeable satisfaction of finding, that the great revolution in the Subaship therein mentioned has been, and is likely to prove greatly advantageous to the Company. We have not now time to enter into any particulars on this happy event, and can therefore only recommend and leave it to you to act in such manner as shall be most for the Company's interest.

We clearly see that this revolution has been happily brought about, principally by the good conduct and address of our President Van Sittart, and we accordingly sincerely and heartily return him our thanks, for his great services and disinterested behaviour on this occasion.

D,3.a.—*Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal.*

Dated 30 Sept. 1761.

THIS is the third revolution in Bengal, wherein the very being of the Company has been, and from their consequences may still be at a stake. Your advancing Jaffier Aly Cawn  
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to the Subaship, in the room of Serajah Doula, was undoubtedly a necessary measure, as well for the good of the country in general, as the interest of the Company in particular. Your afterwards deposing Jasseir Aly Cawn, and settling Cossim Aly Cawn in his room, we hope also was done with the same view, upon this presumption and confidence, that no other motives whatsoever had any influence upon you. We must look on the measures pursued on this occasion as unavoidable; at the same time we cannot help observing, that it is by the great regard the Company have always had to a faithful observance of their agreements; they have acquired, and hitherto preserved, a reputation with the Natives of India. We could have wished therefore the situation of affairs would have admitted keeping terms with Jasseir Aly Cawn, that even the least handle for a pretence might not have been offered to prejudiced people to make use of, to throw any reflection upon the transactions.

E,3. — *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor.*

Dated Mongheer, 14 July 1762.

I Informed you some time ago, that the natural inference, which might be drawn from the extract of the last letter from the Company, was so little in favour of the Nabob, or the last revolution, that I had evaded giving him a translation of it, and only told him, that the Company had applauded the measures which had been taken in his promotion, and recommended the strictest union and harmony with the new Nabob, for a prevention of the like necessity, and for the credit of our faith. Not many days after, the Nabob himself



repeated to me the whole substance of that extract with such heightenings, as a party spirit would naturally give to it, and told me, that Mr. Ellis had declared, that this disapprobation of the revolution would be followed by an order from the Company to overfet it, and that he expected great changes when the next ship arrived. The Nabob's good sense made it no difficult matter for me to satisfy him how improbable such an event was; but I mention this only to shew, how every occasion is caught at to support the credit of an inveterate faction; and, I suppose, this will hardly be attributed to the Nabob's invention, or that of the people about him.

F, 3.—*Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Mef. Van Sittart, M'Gwire, and Hay) to Mr. Hastings.*

Dated 8 July 1762.

WE have received a letter from Mr. Ellis, advising us of the Nabob's refusal of his visit, and the President at the same time acquainted us with the reasons the Nabob gave you for this refusal. We have received also another letter from Mr. Ellis of the twenty-fifth, advising us, that Rajah Nobit Roy, upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Bahar Province, was forbid by the Nabob to pay him the usual compliment of a visit.

The sum of the Nabob's reasons is this, that having had indignities offered him by Mr. Ellis, and having made public complaints against him, he thought it would be absurd to receive a friendly visit from him. We mentioned in our last letter to you the reasons given by Mr. Ellis for those proceedings, of which the Nabob so much complains,

plains, viz. his sending Seapoys to Mongheer, and his seizing Coja Antoon. We shall not now repeat those reasons, as it is not our intention to call to mind old subjects of dispute, but rather to shew the Nabob through your means the necessity of forgetting them, and endeavouring to establish a general good understanding.

We may say, both of the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, that they have been too ready to give credit to reports injurious to each other, and this, it is easy to see, has been the reason why things, in themselves of little consequence, have been made objects of so violent contests. If facts are exaggerated by reports in the compass of these Provinces, what may we not expect to be said of them in other parts of Indostan? Certainly, nothing less than that the disputes between the Nabob and the English Chief at Patna, foretel a breach of the friendship between the two governments, and this may encourage his enemies and our's to attempts, which otherwise they would not dare to meditate; nay, this has always been the Nabob's own argument, and a very just one, although he now seems to consider it as a private quarrel between him and Mr. Ellis. We think it can by no means be regarded in this light, because in its consequences it must affect the publick; for if such a rooted ill-will between the Nabob and one of the Company's principal servants is suffered to prevail, the evil cannot but increase, and the flame spread daily; more of the dependents of each government will insensibly adopt the notions of each party, and a succession of prejudiced minds will arise prepared to take every opportunity of fomenting the quarrel, and rendering it at length irreconcilable. We desire, therefore, that you will use your utmost endeavour, by the arguments which we have now mentioned, and all others that may occur

occur to you, to dispose the Nabob seriously and heartily to do his part towards the dispelling of all animosities; we have as strenuously recommended to Mr. Ellis to do his part, so that we hope a cordial and friendly intercourse may in future subsist between them.

But should this, contrary to our hopes, be found impracticable, we shall at least expect, that the disputes between them be so far accommodated as to be concealed from the world, and that all the usual ceremonies and public marks of respect be reciprocally paid and received. So much is absolutely necessary both for the Nabob's reputation and the Company's, and we may add, that the safety and tranquillity of the Nabob's government is more particularly concerned. Mr. Ellis, by proposing a visit to the Nabob on his arrival at Patna, paid the respect due from his station to the rank of the Subah, and we hope the Nabob, after having this our advice explained to him, will not again omit the compliment due from him to a member of this Board.

*F, 3. a.—Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Mess. Van Sittart, M'Gwire, and Hay) to Mr. Ellis.*

Dated 8 July 1762.

**W**E have received your letters of the 23d and 25th instant; the first, advising of the Nabob's refusing your visit; the other, of his forbidding Nobut Roy to pay you that compliment upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Bahar Province. Mr. Hastings transmitted to the President by the Nabob's desire his reasons for refusing your visit; of these we send you a copy, and purposely avoid entering into any debate upon them,



as, instead of recalling past disputes, we are endeavouring to shew the Nabob and you, the necessity of having them entirely forgot, and a general good harmony established.

Inclosed, we send you a copy of our instructions to Mr. Hastings on this subject. The reasons therein contained, will convince you how much the tranquillity of the country, and consequently the good of the Company is interested in putting an end to these animosities. An intercourse between the Nabob and you, so far as regards your public character, is absolutely necessary, and we shall always insist on; but we wish for more, and strenuously recommend to you, to let nothing be wanting on your part to establish a hearty friendship between you.

Mr. Ellis, instead of complying with so salutary an advice, persisted always in the same violent sentiments, and wrote the following answer to the Board.

F,3.b.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 23 July 1762.

I HAVE been favoured with your's of the 8th, inclosing an extract of Mr. Hastings's letter to the President, and a copy of your instructions to that gentleman, which I sincerely wish may have the desired effect, but fear the Nabob has acted too long without controul to listen now to any advice however salutary.

Though I never hope to be on a footing of friendship or intimacy with the Nabob, yet knowing how necessary it was for the Company's affairs, and more particularly so for his own, to save appearances, I did not think he would have refused  
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an interview, which instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding; but it seems he can construe the occasion of complaints that have arisen, either into a public concern, or a private quarrel with Mr. Ellis, as may best suit his own conveniency.

Any overtures that the Nabob may make towards a reconciliation I shall readily embrace; but after the manner in which I have been treated by him, none can come from me without being greatly derogatory to the publick character, I have at present the honour to bear.

Rajah Nobut Roy has been permitted to pay me the compliment of a visit, which I have returned.

G,3.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor.*

Dated Bauglepoor, 25 April, 1762.

**I** Beg leave to lay before you a grievance which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company. I mean, the oppression committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil I am well assured is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our Seapoys, or calling themselves our Gomastahs. As on such occasions, the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance; so on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions,

oppressions, and encourages their continuance to the great, though unmerited scandal of our government.

I have been surprized to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed, and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions) I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation, but evidently tend to lessen each of them.

A party of Seapoys who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people where they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made me on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehension of the same treatment from us.

You are sensible, Sir, that it is from such little irregularities, too trivial perhaps for publick complaint, and continually repeated, that the country people are habituated to entertain the most unfavourable notions of our government, and by them the English credit suffers much more, than by matters which are made of greater consequence in the debates between the Nabob and us.

You have already pointed out one method by which the truth of the complaints against our Gomastahs may be enquired into and redressed, which I shall not fail to represent in a proper manner to the Nabob. But nothing I fear will reach the root of these evils, till some certain boundary be fixed between the Nabob's authority and our privileges.

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Was I to suppose myself in the place of the Nabob, I should not be at a loss in what manner to protect my own subjects or servants from insults; but whilst the principle prevails, that no point (however little beneficial to ourselves) is to be given up to the Nabob, and that his authority should upon every occasion be checked for the security of our own; I should hardly venture to propose to any one, besides yourself, to restrain the power of our Gomastahs to the immediate concerns of the Company or their servants, to which we ourselves are limited by our Firmaun and our treaty with the Nabob; and where any persons assuming the English name are guilty of acts of violence or oppression to any of the Nabob's subjects, and within his jurisdiction, that the Magistrates take such measures as his office and the matters in question may require, for preventing them without making any distinction, in such cases, betwixt our agents and the dependents of the government.

As the power of executing justice must be lodged somewhere, and our servants if injured have always the means of appealing, we may be certain, that the magistrates will be very cautious how they give any such cause for complaint as may endanger their dismissal, which should be insisted on as the slightest punishment for any notorious perversion of justice.

With regard to the abuse of our flag in defrauding the government of its duties, I know no method so likely to prove effectual as those which have been repeatedly recommended, and which it is needless for me to mention.

I shall forbear saying any thing fully to the Nabob concerning the complaints against our people, till I am favoured with your further opinion on this subject, that I may know from  
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thence how far I am to proceed towards settling this point with the Nabob, and preventing all future difficulties that may arise from the present uncertain and perplexed situation of affairs between us.

H,3.—*Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings.*

Dated 2 May 1762.

SINCE I wrote you last I have been favoured with your's of the 18th of April from Dewânserai, 23d from Shahabad, and 25th from Bauglepoor. The observations contained in the last concerning the unjust authority exercised all over the country in the English name deserves immediate attention. Indeed, I have always thought it a great grievance, injurious to the Nabob in his revenues and government, and to us in our reputation. You know too that I have done all in my power to remedy it. I have frequently requested of the Nabob, to make the Darogas of the Chokeys do their duty more carefully, and oblige every boat to produce my Dustuck, or that of the Chief of one of our factories; and where no Dustuck appears, to stop them till they pay the customs.

The Nabob wrote me that the Darogas of his Chokeys were afraid to stop a boat with English colours, and that the Peons in the boats would not stop; whereupon I sent him according to his request thirty Dustucks or Orders under my hand and seal, importing that all boats should be stopp'd, and either produce their Dustucks, or pay the duties.

Very likely the Darogas of the Chokeys are unfit for their office. They should be men capable of distinguishing a real Dustuck from a counterfeit,

terfeit, and of judging by the date whether it has been already returned and fallaciously made use of a second time; to prevent which, an endorsement should be made at every Chokey upon every Dustuck that passes; and where a boat carries English colours without having a Dustuck, it should be stoppt, and the property particularly enquired into; and if it is found to belong to a subject of the Nabob, I think he would do right to confiscate the whole; if to a subject of our's, the Daroga should send it back with a guard to the first English factory, with a letter to the Chief, desiring, that the flag might be taken away, and the Proprietors, Peon, or Mangee, who was guilty of the abuse, punished.

I really can think of no other precautions for putting a stop to this evil, unless it be to place Chokeys of my own at convenient distances, with writers furnished with the above-mentioned instructions for examining the Dustucks, &c. and which, if the Nabob thinks it will be useful, I am ready to do at such places as he shall point out.

The number of the boats should likewise be compared with the Dustuck, and the quantity of goods in each boat examined with as much exactitude as the nature of them will admit; and where it is found to exceed the quantity mentioned in the Dustuck, the overplus should be confiscated.

The extravagant power set up by our Gomastahs, in many parts of the country, is an abuse equally demanding redress; and it would be but just and fair to desire the Nabob to order his Fougedars and other officers to take cognizance of those irregularities, and prevent by force (if necessary) their interfering in any affair of the government. Could these Fougedars and other officers be depended on, and we be assured they would not make use of that force to take away the



the Weavers, and otherwise impede the Company's business; I should immediately advise and consent to this measure, which indeed is the natural, and I fear the only effectual remedy, and is what the Nabob has an undoubted right to do. I will try what effect a fresh and strict order to all our Gomastahs and subordinates may have, towards preventing their interfering in the affairs of the country; and let the Nabob order his officers to be full and particular in representing to me any circumstances of their misbehaviour, directing them at the same time not to suffer the Gomastahs or their Peons, to seize or judge between any inhabitants of the country excepting the Company's Weavers, nor to take any offices in the country, as Izaradars, Wadadars, &c. These I hope may be some steps towards redressing this grievance; and let the Nabob's officers on their part be cautioned not to oppress the Company's Weavers, or in any manner interrupt their business.

I will order a list to be given in of all the Company's Gomastahs, with the places of their residence from Calcutta, and all the subordinates. These may be permitted to have such a flag at the place of their residence, but all other English Gomastahs shall be forbid to set up flags in any part of the country.

An order is already made and published, forbidding any Europeans from going up the country without first applying for leave to the President and Council, and giving security for their good behaviour; and that they will not meddle in the affairs of the country. At the same time we have directed lists to be given of all that are at present in the country by the gentlemen who employ them, and the same order we have sent to all the subordinates, and all who cannot produce security for their good behaviour shall be called away.

These regulations I had an opportunity of forwarding, upon a complaint made against one Mr. Ivie at Rauegunge, who is ordered down to Calcutta for pretending to decide causes between the inhabitants.

Read all this letter to the Nabob, and assure him, I will do what more may be necessary to give him full authority over his government.

I, 3. — *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor.*

Sarferam, 18 May 1762.

**I** Explained to the Nabob what you wrote to me concerning the abuse of the English name and authority, and the expedients proposed for their removal, which I extracted from your letter, and gave him written under the following heads.

I. That strict orders be given to all the Drogas of the Chokeys, to require every English boat that passes to produce a Dustuck under the seal of the government, or any Chief of the subordinate factories; and in case of a refusal, that they compel the boat by force to bring to.

II. That every boat with English colours, and not having a Dustuck be stopt; and if the goods be English property, that notice be given to the Chief of the nearest factory, that it may be inquired into; but if it be the property of a subject of the Sircar, that the Nabob take what notice of it he may think proper.

III. That strict orders be given to the officers and Fougedars of the Sircar, if any English Gomastah commit any act of oppression, or interfere in the affairs of the government, to forbid them; and if they refuse to hear reason, to use force to make them desist.

IV.

IV. That strict orders have been sent from the Presidency, that none of the Gomastahs or servants of the factories intermeddle with the affairs of the government; and that the officers of the Sircar be likewise strictly enjoined not to obstruct the Company's business, or oppress the people employed in it.

V. That no grants of Wadadarees, Farms, or other offices of the government be allowed to the Company's Gomastahs.

VI. That the Company's Gomastahs shall be allowed an English flag at the place of their residence, but no private Gomastahs shall have an English flag, or assume any distinction from the English name.

VII. That by an order from the Presidency, no European shall be employed in the country without a permission from the Board, and giving security that he will not interfere in any affairs of the government.

Upon the two first heads the Nabob remarked, that it was to no purpose for him to give such orders to his officers though backed with your Dustucks, since both have proved ineffectual to restrain the presumption of our people, who seldom chuse to produce their Dustucks; and if the officer acts as his duty requires him, a complaint is instantly sent to the next factory of the insolence of the Chokeys, the indignity offered to our flag, and the infringement of our Dustucks. Sea poys are dispatched to seize the offender, and others dreading the like treatment let pass all boats indiscriminately, and amongst them many that have no Dustucks.

In the 3d article I have deviated a little from your instructions, as I believe you will be convinced that the Gomastahs are not to be kept in awe by threats alone; but some coercive power must



be allowed the Magistrates, without which, the Gomastahs knowing the difficulty of finding out the truth of facts so remote from our enquiries, will be continually intermeddling in matters which do not concern them, having no one to oppose them. I make no doubt but the officers of the government will be tempted, as they have many times done, to abuse their authority; but the Company's business and the English name will suffer less by a few instances of this kind, than by the unlimited power so often assumed by our Agents. An example made of the first attempts of the Magistrates to oppress our people will intimidate others; but to have every little grievance on either side referred to the Nabob, or yourself, will be a source of perpetual disagreement, and the enquiries will be found so perplexed, that I doubt if any redress will be obtained on either side.

Notwithstanding this alteration, the proposal is not satisfactory to the Nabob, so long as a power is lodged in the gentlemen of our factories on every complaint of the Gomastahs, to send out parties of Seapoys against such as they pretend have misbehaved to them. This evil therefore is first to be redressed.

To the 5th, the Nabob gives his entire assent; and desires, that the Gomastahs and all others under our protection be forbid to take or solicit offices under the government, which he has found very detrimental to the peace of the country.

The 6th, I hope expresses your intentions, as the private Gomastahs have no need of the protection of the English name to carry on their business at the Aurungs, nor can claim any privilege above other traders, besides that of bringing away their goods when provided with the Company's Dustuck.

To these the Nabob desired another article might be added, though implicitly included in the foregoing, viz. That the Gomastahs shall not force their goods on his subjects against their will, or at their own prices, nor compel the workmen to provide goods for them at unreasonable rates, but that every man be left at his own option to buy or sell as he finds his advantage in either.

As the Nabob has no objections to any of the means, which you have so often proposed, for preventing the disputes between his people and the Company's, but only to the want of a proper authority to enforce the execution of them, he desires, that whatever regulations you may judge necessary for the above end, may be drawn up in form, and sent him with the seal of the Company, and if your name added to it be not sufficient to prevent future cavils, that it be signed likewise by the rest of the Council. Such a warrant will limit, beyond the possibility of a dispute, the extent of our privileges and his authority, and point out the means by which he may preserve his government entire, without incurring the imputation of trampling on the rights of the Company.

K,3.—*Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings.*

Dated 27 June 1762.

**I**T is a natural right, which the Nabob has in common with all other governments, to prevent by force, if fair means fail, any injury being done to his subjects by any other person. It would be almost absurd to give a consent to this by any public act; and perhaps not quite proper, for fear of encouraging too much the government's people to exercise this right sometimes perhaps in an un-

just cause. But wherever unlawful attempts are made by our people, the officers of the government must prevent them, by fair means if possible; if not oppose them by force, and it is what no reasonable man can complain of.

L,3.—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Received about the Month of May 1762.

**Y**OU write me, that there must be mischievous men about me, who, by their slanders, want to stir up enmity between me and the English gentlemen, that I should search out those promoters of dissention, and bring them to due punishment.

Sir, from the time that I entered into an agreement with you, and marched out of the Bengal Province to these parts, I never infringed the treaty by obstructing a single person, gentleman, or Seapoy, or boat, or commodity of your's, nor have I sent a single Peon for the customary commissions from the districts which I granted to the Company, but have entirely left off concerning myself about those districts, and have not once wrote to you on any affair relative to them. Since then nothing has been done on my part, which might disturb the friendship and treaty subsisting between us, how can there be any room about my person for dissentions and mischievous men? And this is the way your gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants with a resolution to expose my government to contempt, and from the borders of Indostan to Calcutta make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every Pergunnah and every village, they have established



established ten or twenty new Factories, and setting up the colours, and shewing the Dustucks of the Company, they use their utmost endeavours to oppose the ryots, merchants, and other people of the country. The Dustucks for searching the boats, which you formerly favoured me with, and which I sent to every Chokey, the Englishmen by no means regard, but bring shame and disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness to beat and abuse them. Having established these new Factories, they carry on such business as the Company never heard of, and every Bengal Gomastah makes a disturbance at every Factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the Company. In every Pergunnah, every village, and every Factory, they buy and sell salt, betel-nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things more than I can write, and which I think it needless to mention. They forcibly take away the goods, and commodities of the ryots, merchants, &c. for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and oppression they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and for the sake of five rupees they bind and disgrace an Asama, who pays me an hundred rupees Malguzaree, and they allow not any authority to my servants. Near four or five hundred new Factories have been established in my dominions, and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every Factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed. The officers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their functions, so that by means of these oppressions, and my being deprived of my duties, I suffer a yearly loss of near twenty-five lacks of rupees. In this case, how can I keep clear of debts? How can I provide for the payment of my tribute

to the King, and for the expences of my army and my household? In the Pergunnah of Dinagepoor, of which I have appointed and sent Ramnaut Bahdree collector, besides the old Factory twenty new ones have been established in one \* Gunge. I have sent for your information a list specifying the number of the Factories, and the names of the Gomastahs, which I received from the said collector; and every one of these Gomastahs has such power that he imprisons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he pleases. Therefore I desire you will speedily put a stop to this method of buying and selling straw, bamboos, &c. which the Company never practised. As I never interfere in any of the districts which I gave up to the Company, it is proper that in like manner you, and the Chiefs, and other Englishmen, should not interfere in any of the districts, which by your favour belong to me. By the grace of God, I neither have transgressed, nor do, nor will transgress the treaty and agreement which I have made; why then do the Chiefs and other Englishmen render my government contemptible, and employ themselves in bringing a loss upon me? Be kind enough to take these matters into consideration without delay, for they expose my government to scorn, and are of the greatest detriment to me.

L,3.a. — *Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Received in April 1762.

**Y**OU write me, that “as the Provinces are free  
“ from disturbance all men have engaged  
“ in trade, that this is a means of benefiting the  
ryots,

\* A large Market.

“ ryots, and rendering the country populous ; that  
“ I should fully inform you of the names of all  
“ such as lay aside their trade, and give interrup-  
“ tion to my business, together with the particu-  
“ lars of their proceedings, and that you will pu-  
“ nish them according to their deserts.”

It is true, that by the flourishing of trade, and the free intercourse of merchants a country is rendered populous ; but the Gomastahs who have gone into the country, on the part of your gentlemen, regardless of what any one says to them, insolently use violent means to carry on their traffick ; and wherever a Gunge or Golah has been established they act as Zemindars, Taalucdars, and Renters, and leave my officers no authority ; and besides this, they send other people's goods with their own, under the protection of their Duffuck. As you have desired me to write you the particulars of the oppressions of your Gomastahs, after the arrival of Mr. Hastings, I will send you a circumstantial account of them.

L, 3. b.—*Translation of a Letter from Syed Rejab Aly, Zemindar of Burbezzo Pergunnah.*

Received about the Middle of the Year 1762.

FROM the beginning, the Company's Factory has been in Beelcoochy, and a cloth business has been carried on there, and I do not neglect doing to the utmost of my power whatever the Gomastahs of the Factory desire, nor was any oppression practised. Whoever traded in copper, toothernague, or cotton, which was sent to the Factory by the Company, traded freely and at the market-price. Now from Calcutta, Dacca, Cheelmary, and Rungamatty, numbers of Englishmen and merchants, and the people of Mons.  
Chevalier,



Chevalier, &c. bring into the Pergunna, copper, toothernague, cotton, tinkall, salt, betel-nut, tobacco, rice, muggadroties, Seringa boats, lack, sticklack, damma, dried fish, &c. and all these people, assuming the name of the Company, force the ryots, who never dealt in such commodities, to purchase them at an exorbitant price. Besides this, they violently exact large sums for presents and for their Peons expences, and take at a low rate whatever oil, &c. they buy. By means of these oppressions, the merchants, picars, ryots, &c. of the Pergunnah have taken to flight, and the Hauts, Gauts, Gunges, and Golahs are entirely ruined. Moreover, they prevent the ryots from carrying on their business, they rob and plunder them wherever they meet them on the road, and giving colours and certificates to the merchants of other Pergunnahs, who formerly paid duties, they will not suffer any to be taken from them, and the Zemindar's people reverencing the name of the Company cannot obstruct them. Through these oppressions the revenues of the government have been absolutely ruined, and the Company's business obstructed. Being without redress, I send you a Vackeel, with a representation of the state of the Pergunna, he will inform you of all particulars. I hope, that regarding my distressed condition, you will send a Seapoy with a Dustuck to take my country under his protection, and will order the Gomastahs of Beelcoochy Factory, to put a stop to the power of such as trade by force and oppression, to make every one refund what profits he has exacted by violence, to put oppression and injustice to flight, and to have the Company's business carried on as formerly. I have acquainted the Vackeel with the particulars, and he will inform you of them.

L, 3. c.—*Transla-*

L,3.c.—*Translation of a Letter from Doolabram to the Nabob.*

THE trade of the salt and buttywood in the Chucla of Sillet, has for a long while been granted to me, in consideration of which I pay a yearly rent of forty thousand caouns of cowries; but now Mr. . . . and Chundermun, and Coja Bercab English Gomastahs, having brought a large quantity of salt into the aforesaid Chucla, oblige my Gomastahs by force and oppression to purchase it at an exorbitant price; and having by violent means taken the buttywood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a very great loss; yet the Fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents, plundering my house, and forcing me from my home, and my Gomastahs, by reason of the oppressions of the English Gomastahs, and the rigor and violence with which the Malguzaree is exacted, have taken to flight. I therefore hope, you will do me the favour to order a Perwana to be wrote to the Fougedar, either to put a stop to the power of the English Gomastahs, or else not to demand the rents from me.

M,3. — *Copy of a Letter from Sergeant Brego to the Governor.*

Dated Backergunge, 25 May 1762.

THE situation of affairs at this place obliges me to apply to your honour, for instructions for my farther proceedings.

My instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders they were to be sent to Calcutta,  
not-

notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing.

Notwithstanding the rigour of these orders, I have ever made it my business (when any thing trifling happened) to endeavour by gentle means to persuade the gentlemens Gomastahs here to act in a peaceable manner, which although repeated several times has had no effect, but on the contrary, has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective masters, that I obstruct them in their business and ill used them, and in return I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening, if I interfere with their servants, to use such measures as I may repent; nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very Gomastahs have made it publick here, that in case I stop them in any proceeding, they will use the same methods, for the truth of which I have good proofs.

Now, Sir, I am to inform you, what I have obstructed them in; this place was of great trade formerly, but now brought to nothing by the following practices.

A gentleman sends a Gomastah here to buy or sell; he immediately looks on himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods, or sell him their's; and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing; but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in, and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that, and my



my interfering occasions an immediate complaint.

These and many other oppressions more than can be related, which are daily used by the Bengal Gomastahs, is the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants. Every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe, and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce a thing of use, their Peons being allowed to force poor people; and if the Jemmadar offers to prevent it, he is threatened to be used in the same manner.

Before, justice was given in the publick, but now every Gomastah is become a judge, and every one's house a Cutcherry; they even pass sentences on the Jemidars themselves, and draw money from them for pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of their Peons, or their having, as they assert, stole something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people; but allowing they were robbed, I believe no Gomastah's authority extends so far as to take his own satisfaction on the government.

Having thus far acquainted your Honour with the behaviour of the Gomastahs here, I am to request your Honour's interest, that in case I am to put your orders in execution, I may be bore harmless therein; and I beg leave to conclude, being with all respects, &c.

M,3.a.—*Translation of a Letter from Mahomed Aly to the Governor.*

Received the beginning of Oct. 1762.

**H**IS Excellency, the Nabob, was pleased to appoint me Collector of the Pergunnahs in the province of Dacca; but several people of that

that place have ingratiated themselves in the favour of the gentlemen of Luckypoor and Dacca factories, and greatly detrimented the affairs. To this purport his Excellency has wrote you, and directed me to acquaint you with every thing relating to the gentlemen of the factory. Therefore I now lay the whole before you, and send by Mirza Mysudeen a Perwanah from his Excellency which he will present to you. In the first place, a number of merchants have made friends with the people of the factory, hoist English colours on their boats, and carry away their goods under pretence of their being English property, by which means the Shawbunders and other customs are greatly detrimented. Secondly, The Gomastahs of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants, &c. to take Tobacco, Cotton, Iron, and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the Bazar, and then extort the money from them by force; besides which, they take diet-money for the Peons, and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings the Aurungs and other places are ruined. Thirdly, The Gomastahs of Luckypoor factory have taken the Taalucdar's Taalucs from the Takseeldar by force for their own use, and will not pay the rent. At the instigation of some people they, on a matter of complaint, send Horse and Seapoys with a Dustuck into the country, and there create disturbance. They station Chokeys at different places, and whatever they find in poor people's houses, they cause to be sold and take the money. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the Ryots cannot stay in their houses nor pay the Malguzaree. In many places Mr. Chevalier has by force established new markets and built new houses, and has made false Seapoys on his own part, who seize whom they want and fine them.

By

By his forcible proceedings many Hauts, Gauts, and Pergunnas are ruined, and the Malguzary of the government suffers greatly; I therefore hope you will send, for the security of the Ryots, two Europeans or Seapoys with a Dustuck, which may put an end to these proceedings, and tend to the benefit of the inhabitants. Please to send letters to the Chiefs of Dacca and Luckypoor, to write to their Gomastahs in the districts not to oblige the merchants to take Tobacco, Cotton, &c. and not in any respect to detriment the Aurungs, and then the Sircar will get the revenues. Other matters Mirza Mysudeen will relate to you; you will please to consider them, and then the affairs of the government will prosper.

M,3.b. — *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 7 Oct. 1762.

**T**O prevent any blame being hereafter thrown on us for the deficiency of our investment, we are now to inform you, that at Ishanabad, the principal cloth Aurung, our Gomastahs, Dilolls, &c. have been peremptorily ordered to desist from purchasing, and quit the place. Upon their non-compliance, they have been threatened and abused in the most vile and gross terms, and the washer-men employed in whitening our cloths have been actually beat, and Peons put on them to prevent their going on in their business.

Rajah Nobit Roy (to whom our Chief has twice complained of these proceedings) declares, that the person who thus insults us, and impedes the Company's business, is independent of him, so that it would seem he is sent by the Nabob merely for this purpose.

If



If such insolence is suffered to pass unnoticed, we can have no hopes of completing our investment; for who will serve us, whilst they thereby subject themselves to such severe and ignominious treatment from the country government.

For the carrying on the Company's business, it is evident, we must be obliged to repel force by force, and shall do so, unless we receive your Honour's, &c. orders to the contrary.

M,3.c. — *Copy of the Resolutions of the Board, Mes. Van Sittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay, and Watts, on the foregoing Letter.*

18 Oct. 1762.

**A**GREED, we write immediately the following answer; that we inclose a letter from the President to the Nabob on the subject of their complaints, and hope it will be effectual in removing all interruptions in the Company's business; but at all events, as we have it sufficiently in our power to procure satisfaction for any injury that may be done the interest of our employers, they are on no account to make use of force without our express directions; that they do not mention in their letter that they made any application to the Nabob to put a stop to the difficulties they represent, and which certainly they ought to have done when they were informed, that the person they complained of was independent of the Naib of Patna. At least it should have occurred to them, that such application was necessary before they should propose to make use of force.

M,3.d. — *Extract*

M,3.d.—*Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypoor to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 14 Oct. 1762.

WE must beg leave to observe to you, that within these few days every boat which we have sent out of the river, has been stopt at the different Chokeys notwithstanding they have the Chief's Duffuck; our Gomastahs and people confined and used ill, and a very exorbitant duty demanded, and our servants in general greatly insulted all over the country. Upon our sending to some of these places to enquire the reason of this extraordinary behaviour, answer was given, that they had orders from the Nabob to stop and demand duties from every English boat that passed, and on no account to let them go free, as the English Duffuck was now of no consequence in the country; and for this purpose the force at every Chokey is augmented. This has occasioned an entire stoppage to our trade, greatly to the detriment of our private fortunes, as we have now large quantities of goods detained at the different Chokeys, which we cannot get released, unless we submit to pay the extravagant custom they require; and were we to do that, our boats are liable to be stopt at the very next Chokey, and the same duty again demanded. Of these circumstances we think it necessary to inform you, and hope speedy measures will be taken to procure us redress. We are under daily apprehensions, that a custom will be demanded on our cloth purchases, which must be of great prejudice to our honourable employers.

P

M,3 e.—*Extract*

*M,3.e.—Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Chittagong to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 14 Oct. 1762.

**W**E last night received a letter from the gentlemen of Dacca, advising us, that the extraordinary insolence of the natives in every part of their districts, has given them the greatest reason to apprehend troubles in the country, and that the natives seem to confirm these surmises by their own declarations; that their trade is almost put an entire stop to, their flag used with contempt, and their privileges ridiculed; that this being their present situation, they request we will let them have another company of Seapoys for the protection of our honourable masters property at their factory; that the company appointed there are very sickly, and many men unfit for actual service; that the sooner we send them this detachment the better, as also some ammunition; that the company shall again be returned, when their affairs are put upon a better footing. In consequence of these advices we have ordered a company of Seapoys with some ammunition to proceed to Dacca with all expedition, which we hope will meet with your approbation. At the same time we also received a letter from the gentlemen at Luckypoor, requesting a supply of ammunition, which we have ordered to be sent.

We must observe to you, that within these few days past we have received advice from our Gomastahs in different parts of the country, that our business is entirely put a stop to by the Nabob's people, and our boats not suffered to pass the Chokeys, the Zemindars demanding very considerable



considerable duties to be first paid them; declaring, they have orders from Cossim Aly Cawn so to do; and unless we use force to prevent it, they will see his directions strictly complied with. Several of our boats are now lying confined at different Chokeys.

M, 3. f. — *Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca to the Governor and Council.*

Dated 8 Oct. 1762.

**W**E think it our duty to inform you, that the outrages committed in these parts by the government's people, for this month past, have arrived to such a height, as to put almost a total stop to our business. At every Chokey our boats are stopt, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt. Our advices from Sillet give us the same intelligence, further adding, that Muchulcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English. As this spirit of insolence increases to a very surprising degree, and we have daily the mortification to hear of repeated insults and violences offered to our privileges, we are under an apprehension, that the Company's business will in a few days share the same fate as all private has. To prevent and remedy these evils, we must depend upon the measures you may take in consequence of this information.

As appearances are so very unpromising, we have wrote to the gentlemen of Chittagong for a reinforcement of a company of Seapoys, which shall be again returned them when affairs begin to clear up.

M, 3. g.—*Extract from a Consultation of the eighteenth of October, (Present Mes. Van Sittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts.)*

**A** Greed, we write to Dacca, in answer to their letter of the eighth instant, that we must needs say from the information of the above letters \*, there is occasion to fear their Gomastahs and agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade, and perhaps the several disputes and interruptions they complain of have been owing to that cause; but as we are always able and willing, when the necessity of circumstances may require, to procure them redress for any injuries they may suffer in their trade or otherwise, we direct, that they forbear making use of force without our permission and orders, and therefore desire they will return to Chittagong immediately the company of Seapoys which they have wrote for from thence; and if any complaints of interruptions in their business are hereafter made by their Gomastahs, let Mr. Cartier send a person to enquire into the truth of the affair, with a letter to the proper officer of the government to desire he will put a stop to such obstructions; that inclosed are letters from the President to Jeffarut Cawn the Naib, and Mahomed Aly the collector of the revenues, which we hope will prevent any farther disorders, at least until the President can make the necessary regulations in concert with the Nabob: that the abovementioned copies of letters we have forwarded to them for their information, and reply in case there should be any facts in them misrepresented; and we desire they will send on their

\* Mahomed Aly's letter, (vide page 205.) and some other letters to the same purport.

their parts a particular state of their complaints to the President, who will take the proper measures, to obtain them satisfaction and indemnification for all losses and damages; that they must likewise take effectual care that none of their Gomastahs or agents do in future use any kind of force or authority in carrying on their trade, lest the disputes occasioned by such practices should in the end affect the Company's business; neither must their Gomastahs be allowed to set themselves up as magistrates in the country, in hearing disputes between the inhabitants, imposing fines, &c.

Agreed, we likewise add to the Luckypoor letter the several instructions contained in the above letter to Dacca, to regulate themselves by, in case any disputes should happen with them.

M<sub>3</sub>.h.—*Extract of a Consultation of the first of November 1762. (Present Messrs. Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay, and Watts.)*

**A**Greed, to write an answer to Luckypoor, referring them to our letter of the eighteenth of October, for directions how to regulate themselves with regard to the obstructions they complain of, till such time as the President can arrive with the Nabob; and inquire into and settle these disputes on a solid plan for the future safety and freedom of our trade; desiring them, in the mean time, to send us an account of the duties they have usually paid, and the fresh customs which are now demanded for the President's guidance in settling the matter.

Agreed, to write to Chittagong, advising them in answer to the above letter, that as the President is gone on a visit to the Nabob, and intends to enquire very particularly into, and settle all the disputes of the nature they complain of, we desire they



they will send us a particular account of their complaints, what was the amount of the former duties, and what fresh customs are now demanded, for his (the President's) guidance in so doing; but that, in the mean time, we must forbid their making use of force to redress themselves without our positive directions; that regarding the disputes at Dacca, we have sent the gentlemen their orders and directions under the eighteenth of October.

N,3.—*Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Council.*

Dated 9 November 1762.

I Find, that the interruptions, which the gentlemen at Chittagong, Dacca, and Lucky-poor, have met with, for some weeks past, are owing to the bad disposition of Mahomed Aly, the person last appointed by the Nabob to collect the rents of that part of the country. Syed Mahomed Cawn, the deputy governor of Moorshedabad, expresses as much resentment against that man as we do ourselves; and assures me, that he has represented him in such a light to the Nabob, that he is persuaded he will be immediately dismissed from his office. This is a point I shall urge to the Nabob if it is not done before I arrive at Mongheer; and farther, that he be punished for his insolence, and obliged to make satisfaction for all losses which may have been incurred by the delays he has occasioned. In the mean time, I have the honour to transmit you four orders from Syed Mahomed Cawn to the said collector, warning him of the bad consequences of his present conduct, and charging him not to obstruct the business of our Factories; I send likewise one  
from

from myself. These, forwarded to the respective Factories, will, I hope, remove all obstructions, and, on the other hand, Syed Mahomed Cawn desires, that our gentlemen will take all possible care to prevent their Gomastahs and agents from interfering in the business of the government, or using force in buying or selling.

I have not yet the Nabob's answer concerning the disputes between the uncle and nephew for the Zemindary of Baboopour. As soon as I receive it, I shall forward it to you, that you may give the necessary directions to the Chief, &c. at Luckypoor.

The answer I have received from the Nabob to Mr. Ellis's complaint, I now inclose with a translation. I think it would be proper to send a copy to that gentleman with directions to apply to the Naib at Patna, if in future he should meet with any interruptions in his business; and if the Naib either refuses, or has not authority to remove them, then to apply to the Nabob himself, from whom, if he does not obtain such redress and assistance as the case may require, then to make his representation to the Board, with copies of his letters to the government, and his answers received. By this we shall be saved the trouble of hearing complaints, except in cases where our interposition becomes really necessary.

O, 3. — *Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

Dated 1 November 1762.

I Have received with great pleasure your friendly letter. You write, that “ you learn from “ Mr. Ellis, the Chief of the Factory at Patna, “ that cloths have been provided for many years

“ at the Aurung of Johanabad for the Compa-  
 “ ny ; now Perva Roy, the Aumil of that place,  
 “ obstructs the weavers in providing the cloths,  
 “ and when they are made, hinders the washer-  
 “ men from dressing and washing them, to the  
 “ great prejudice of the Company’s business ; and  
 “ you desire, that I will give strict orders to the Au-  
 “ mil not to molest the Company’s Gomastahs,  
 “ and to assist them on every occasion.”

Sir, wherever that gentleman has an opportu-  
 nity he fails not to make complaints of his busi-  
 ness. As he has found my officers in no instance  
 faulty, he has wrote to you the impertinences and  
 complaints of the washermen. You well know,  
 that the washermen pay no duties, and that the  
 Aumils have no authority to interrupt them, or  
 prevent their washing and dressing the cloths. Was  
 this affair really true, he would have informed  
 Rajah Nobit Roy of it, and he would immedi-  
 ately have wrote to the Aumil about it ; but as it is  
 altogether without foundation, he chuses to make  
 a false complaint to you. Do you yourself con-  
 sider this affair. Nevertheless, I have sent strict  
 orders to the Rajah to write to the Aumil, that he  
 on no account obstruct the currency of the Com-  
 pany’s business, and that on application from the  
 Gomastahs of the Factory he affords them due aid  
 and assistance.

The Board having received the accounts of du-  
 ties on private inland trade from Luckypoor, sent  
 the same to the President for his guidance in set-  
 tling that point, with the following letter.



P, 3.—*Copy of a Letter from the Council to the Governor.*

Dated 15 Nov: 1762.

**W**E have received your letter of the ninth instant, and are thereby glad to find, that the interruptions of the trade, which have happened towards Dacca, Luckypoor, and Chittagong, are only apparently owing to the bad conduct and ill disposition of the collector Mahomed Aly. We make no doubt therefore, but a representation from you to the Nabob of this man's bad behaviour will be a means of obtaining ample satisfaction and restitution for all losses sustained in that quarter; and as we hear, that the trade in the countries of Purnea and Rungpoor has likewise met with great interruptions, we must beg leave particularly to recommend to your attention the getting these obstructions also removed, and obtaining retaliation for the losses of any individuals who may make their complaints to you.

We have forwarded to Dacca the orders to be delivered to Mahomed Aly, and have desired the gentlemen there to write to Luckypoor, and Chittagong, of the receipt and tenor of these orders, and afterwards of the effect they may have upon Mahomed Aly's conduct.

We have under this date wrote to Patna with a copy of the Nabob's letter, and directions agreeable to what you advise; but we must beg leave to observe, that the terms in which the Nabob makes mention of Mr. Ellis are indecent and very improper, and ought not to be encouraged. We have too good an opinion of Mr. Ellis's veracity to suppose that he would advance a falsity to the Board; and we hope therefore, that you will endeavour to prevent such indecencies from passing in

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in future, when we are treating with the Nabob on public matters.

*Inclosed we transmit you an Extract from a Luckypoor letter, explaining the Shawbunder duties, which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you in finally settling these matters upon a solid plan.*

P,3.a.—*Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypoor to the Board.*

Dated 6 Nov. 1762.

**T**HE duties, we have hitherto paid to the Shawbunder, are as follows :

|              | R. | A. | P. |                 |
|--------------|----|----|----|-----------------|
| On salt *    | 9  | 14 | 3  | per 100 maunds. |
| On tobacco † | 0  | 4  | 0  | per maund.      |

On this first article, we believe we have paid rather more than the Dacca Factory, but hope you will get it settled on an equal footing. With regard to the fresh customs now demanded, the Chokeys do not require any stipulated sum, but fleece our Gomastahs and people of all they can ; and if our boats are freed from one Chokey, they are sure to be stopped at the next, and our servants confined, and treated very ill. The instant we had advice of our boats being stopped at these places, we sent to them to know the reason, and desire their release ; but answer was always given, that

\* The prime cost of an hundred maunds of salt may be from sixty to eighty rupees.

† The prime cost of a maund of tobacco may be from two to three rupees.

N. B. Sixteen annaes make a rupee.

that they had orders from the Nabob for so doing, and therefore could not release them.

*Q.3.—Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Council.*

**I**nclosed, I send for your perusal two Persian letters. . . One from Mr. Cartier to Mahomed Aly the collector of the Dacca districts ; which, if I understand it right, (for the expressions are rather obscure) is wrote in a very improper stile, and tends to encourage and promote that evil which we have taken so much pains to remedy, I mean a jealousy and distrust between us and the Nabob. I request, you will be pleased to call on Mr. Cartier, for an explanation of his meaning, and give him such a caution on the occasion as to you shall seem necessary. . . . The other from Mess. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts to Sheer Aly Cawn, Fougedar of Purnea, endorsed by Mr. Bolts in English, and written I imagine by him, in the name of the partnership. Whoever reads this letter must naturally conclude no other government subsisted amongst us, since it was left to Mr. Bolts to assert the privileges of the Firmaund, and vindicate, in the name of the English, the freedom of the Company's Dustuck. Such notions propagated in the country must needs be prejudicial to the Company's affairs by weakening their government ; and it is for this reason, the Company have forbid letters to be written to the country government by any person, excepting the President, or with his approbation. I never refused to apply for redress for any grievance that the gentlemen in the service, and all other inhabitants of the settlement have applied to me about ; and in case of my illness, or absence, Mr. Amyatt was ready to give them the same assistance. I must therefore recommend



recommend to you to inflict such censure or punishment on Mr. Bolts as shall seem to you necessary for preventing such irregularities in future. I could wish also, that it were made a rule for the Chiefs of the subordinate Factories and all others, when they write letters to the country government, to sign them, that, in case of their being produced afterwards, they may be known to be authentick.

Q.3.a. — *Translation of a Letter from Mr. Cartier to Mahomed Aly.*

Several Chokyders, and Cutwauls, and collectors, and Zemindars, and other officers in the town, and its dependencies, are guilty of violent proceedings towards the Gomastahs and people of the English Company and gentlemen, rob and plunder, and regard not the honour of the English flag and Duffuck. The news of this has reached my ears. As the Chiefship of the Factory here belongs to me, therefore, for the sake of justice, and to establish the Company's business, I acquaint you with these proceedings, and desire you will in answer inform me why such proceedings have happened; yet I am persuaded you are not the author of them, and much less the Nabob. As you are acquainted with the secrets of this affair, I therefore send to you for a full and proper explanation of it. You know what a disturbance will arise between us, and, by the grace of God, you have seen and will see what our strength and power has shewn itself, and will shew itself. Your prudence, and the care and preservation of your greatness, would dictate to you to turn out the disturbers; but by turning them out the credit and power of *the high name* will be lessened. I hope you will write me the particulars of all these oppressions,

pressions, that I may be acquainted with the whole proceedings, and may likewise know whether you are a friend or not. As circumstances are represented erroneously by Vackeels, I have therefore committed them to writing.

Q, 3. b. — *Translation of a Letter from Mes. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, to Meer Sheer Aly Cawn.*

**O**UR Gomastah Ramchurn dofs being gone into those parts meets with obstructions from you in whatever business he undertakes; moreover, you have published a prohibition to this effect, that whoever shall have any dealings with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner have you prohibited the people under your jurisdiction. We were surprised at hearing of this affair, because that the Royal Firmaund, which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the English will by no means suffer with patience their Firmaund to be broke through. We therefore expect, that upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots; and in case of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nabob in the name of the English, and send for such an order from him, that you shall restore fully and entirely whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain by this obstruction, and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business in spite of the Royal Firmaund. After reading this letter we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear, and will by no means stop the Company's Dustuck.

R, 3. — *Copy*

R, 3. — *Copy of a Letter from the Governor  
and Mr. Hastings to the Council.*

Dated 15 Dec. 1762.

**W**E have had many conferences with the Nabob on the subject of the late complaints, which appear to have been chiefly occasioned by the private inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country. He enlarged much on the licentiousness and oppression exercised by our Gomastahs, especially in those distant parts of the province where his government is less established, and too remote for our enquiries into their behaviour. He urged, that the trade of those parts consisted chiefly in articles produced and sold in the country, from which former Nabobs had always restrained all Europeans, and to which he did not conceive that we could claim any right from our Firmaund.

We agree with the Nabob in opinion, that the true intent and natural meaning of the Firmaund, granted to the Company, was to give to them and their servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in all articles of commerce to be imported or exported by shipping. From such commerce a mutual benefit is derived to our country and to this; but the trade from place to place in the country in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and other commodities produced here, bringing no general benefit to the country, but to particulars only who had the same in their hands; we do not think the Firmaund can be understood to include them within the privilege of the Dustuck, or to grant us a right to trade there-  
in



in on \* any other footing than the natives themselves; that is, paying the usual customs to the government; for if we have a right to trade therein custom-free, and the natives must pay customs, it follows, that no one but ourselves could carry on any trade, which we cannot suppose the Firmaund intended.

It is fact, that the Nabobs of these provinces did formerly restrain the Europeans from carrying on this trade upon any footing, and by farming out the several articles to particular merchants, drew to themselves a considerable revenue.

After the defeat and death of Serájah Doula, and the establishment of Jaffier Aly Cawn in the Subaship, by the assistance of the English, we began to take a share of this trade, which share has been from day to day increasing. It has however always been a subject of dispute with the country government, our right never having been admitted by them, nor regularly claimed and established by us; and the government's duties have generally been paid.

But

\* The Company in their answer to the complaints of the Dutch, page 36, seem plainly to declare that this is their opinion. Their words are as follows:

The acceptance of this grant (for the sole purchase of salt-petre) by our servants, they complain of as injurious to them, and as inconsistent with that free trade to which they claim a right under the Mogul's Firmaund.

In support of this measure we might observe, that those Firmaunds, general as they are, are not to be construed universal, but to be understood with this limitation, that they do not operate to the prejudice of any subsisting right or usage, much less of such rights as could not be abolished without a considerable diminution of the publick revenues. Whatever article of trade therefore has been ordinarily monopolized and granted in form, it might be contended, may still be so enjoyed and granted without infringement of those Firmaunds; the design of which was, to admit European traders to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects, and surely not to a better.

But not content with this, the English Gomastahs in different parts have lately begun to insist upon this trade as a Firmaund privilege equally with the foreign trade, and refused to pay any customs. The government's people on their part demanded the customs, and upon refusal stopp'd the goods; and this contest has been the occasion of many of the complaints received by us and the Nabob.

As on the one hand, we do not see any reason why the English gentlemen and other inhabitants of Calcutta, and the subordinate Factories, should carry on the inland trade with the Company's Dustuck, or in any respect more advantageously than the country merchants; so on the other hand, we think it would be a great hardship, if we and all belonging to us were not admitted upon an equality with the merchants and inhabitants of other parts of Bengal, and suffered to trade on equal terms in all commodities, and in all places, provided our agents and Gomastahs do not set up for magistrates in the country, and carry on their business by force and oppression. Practices of this sort in many of the English agents and Gomastahs, and an abuse on the part of the Nabob's officers of the power put into their hands for the restraint of such practices, have been the causes of the many complaints lately received.

In these sentiments the regulations we have proposed to the Nabob for fixing the manner of carrying on this trade in future, and preventing any disputes between his officers and our agents and Gomastahs, are as follows :

S. 3.—I. That for all trade imported or to be exported by shipping, the Company's Dustucks shall be granted, and it shall pass unmolested and free of customs as usual.

II. For

II. For all trade from one place in the country to another in commodities produced in the country, as salt, betel-nut, tobacco, &c. the Company's Dustuck shall not be granted, but it shall go with the Dustuck of the Buckshbunder, Shahbunder, or other officer of the country government.

III. That at the time of taking out the said Dustuck, and before the dispatch of the goods, the duties shall be paid according to the rates which shall be particularly settled and annexed to this agreement.

IV. That the said duties so to be paid before exportation shall be the whole that are to be paid, so that after the dispatch of the goods nothing shall be paid at any Chokeys in the road, nor at the place of sale.

V. That all goods being furnished either with the Company's Dustuck, or that of the government, shall meet with no obstruction or delay. The guards and Chokeys on the road shall have nothing more to do than to demand a sight of the Dustuck, unless they shall observe the boats to be laden with a larger quantity of goods than are mentioned in the Dustuck, or with other sorts of goods than those mentioned in the Dustuck; in which case they are to give immediate notice to the nearest English Factory, as well as to the nearest officer of the government, that orders may be sent to have a strict examination, but they are not to detain them in the road.

VI. If any one shall attempt to pass goods without a Dustuck, either from the government or the Company, or shall clandestinely procure a Company's Dustuck to pass salt, tobacco, or other produce of the country, from place to place for inland trade, such goods shall be seized and confiscated. The guards and Chokeys in the road are

to be held responsible for the same. Qd bluow ti kumir - W to  
VITRO



to stop them, and to give notice to the nearest English Factory, as well as the nearest officer of the government.

VII. If any person not having a Dustuck shall attempt to pass boats or goods clandestinely under the cover of, and in company with other boats or goods having a Dustuck, such boats or goods, so attempted to be passed clandestinely, shall be seized and confiscated.

VIII. The Gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely and as merchants, and shall on no account use force in buying or selling. If any dispute arises in the course of their business, they shall not attempt to redress themselves, but shall make their complaint to the Fougedar, or other officer of the government, and have the matter tried before him. In like manner, if any merchant or inhabitant shall be aggrieved by an English Gomastah, he shall make his complaint to the Fougedar or other officer of the government, and the Gomastah being duly summoned, shall appear before him to answer to the charge, and have the matter determined.

IX. To deter the Fougedar and other officers of the government from being guilty of any partiality, they shall be enjoined to transmit to the Nabob copies of their proceedings upon all trials, where English Agents or Gomastahs are concerned, and likewise to give a copy to the Agent or Gomastah, who if he thinks himself aggrieved may send the same to his principal, and he may make his complaint to the President, who, if the cause requires it, will apply to the Nabob for redress; and when any Fougedar, or other officer of the government, shall prove guilty of such partiality, the Nabob shall punish him in the most exemplary manner.

We think it would be unreasonable to desire to  
carry

carry on the inland trade upon any other footing than that of the merchants of the country, and that the attempting to carry it on free of customs, and with the Company's *Dustuck*, would bring upon us universal jealousy and ill-will, and in the end prejudice the Company's affairs as well as our own. In the course of our conferences upon this subject, the Nabob observed, that if the English *Gomastahs* were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities custom-free, as many of them now pretend, they must of course draw all the trade into their own hands, and his customs would be of so little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open, and collect no customs for any person whatever upon any kind of merchandize, which would draw a number of merchants into his country, and encrease his revenues, by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of a larger quantity of goods for sale; at the same time, that (he added) it would effectually cut off the principal subject of the disputes which had disturbed the good understanding between us, an object that he had more than any other at heart. This scheme we discouraged all in our power, as it would immediately render the *Dustuck* useless, and prejudice our honourable master's business, by enhancing the number of purchasers; and it is an argument why we ought readily to consent to the regulation now proposed, not to risk hurting the Company's interest for our own private advantage.

The Nabob desires our orders may be repeated, that none of the Company's Servants, their Agents, *Gomastahs*, or other persons employed by them, shall be permitted to hold offices under the country government, nor to purchase, rent, or hold lands, *gunge*, or markets, nor to lend money to the *Zemindars* or *Collectors*, as all these

are sources of disputes between the Company's people and the government's.

We have sent to Mr. Helas the Nabob's orders for the free purchase of the timbers wanted for the new fort, and the Nabob has expressed to Sheer Aly, the Fougedar of that district, his highest displeasure at the obstructions he before laid in his way, and the ill treatment which the English Gomastahs in general complained of from him.

Inclosed, we send the Nabob's orders to Mahomed Aly the Collector of the Dacca districts, enjoining him to release all boats that may be stoppt by him or any person under his jurisdiction; to demand for customs nothing more than has hitherto been paid upon the inland trade of those parts, and to refund all that may have been extorted beyond that; likewise another order to the same person, requiring him to transmit a more circumstantial account of the dispute between the uncle and nephew about the Zemindary of Baboopoor, and how it happened that three or four of our Seapoys were killed there. But as both in this affair, and that of Tangepoor dependent on Purnea, where one of Mr. Gray's Gomastah's was killed, a severe example seems highly necessary; we have agreed with the Nabob to send a person on our part along with one of his to inquire upon the spot, and bring a full and impartial account of each of these events, and the Nabob has promised to punish his people with the utmost severity, if they prove to be as guilty as they now appear. Mr. Hastings will go to Tangepoor to finish that inquiry, and we desire that you will direct Mr. Billers to produce the necessary proofs to the person who may be appointed by the Nabob to inquire concerning the other affair.

T,3.—*Translation*



**T.3.**—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.*

**A**S there are many places within the Pergunnas, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, much oppressed by the English Company's Gomastahs and servants, I shall trouble you to write to the Chiefs of Cossimbazar, Dacca, Luckypoor, Malda, Patna, &c. not to give Dustucks, or permit any one to hoist English colours besides what are granted for the Company's ship-merchandise; that on whatever goods of this country they purchase and sell, they shall pay duties for the same as other merchants, and receive a Dustuck from the Sircar, and may pass and repass, only giving a copy of their Dustuck at every gaut; that they should use no force in the purchase and sale of goods, nor take possession of the houses and golahs belonging to the ryots and merchants. . . . The musselmen merchants pay a duty of 9 per cent. at the gauts and place of purchase, &c. you will also appoint the same duty. . . . Let not any one impede the dilolls and weavers of the Sircar, at the Aurungs of Dacca, Râdanuggur, Kirpây, Nuddia, Moorshedabad, Malda, Caulygaum, &c. where the Sircar may freely purchase, nor injure and oppress the inhabitants of the Pergunnas, nor protect the ryots, merchants, renters, and servants of the Government, nor detriment the revenues. . . . As the Company's Gomastahs make salt at Sundee, &c. I desire you will write to them not to make any more there, but like other merchants to purchase it from the Molung-hies at the market price. . . . You will direct the gentlemen, Gomastahs, Muttasuddies, and Moonshies, and other officers of the English Company, to relinquish their farms, taalucs, gunges, and golahs.

golahs, and not take any in future; to afford no protection to any one; upon proof to receive back the money they paid for their purchases; not to borrow from, or lend to the Muttasuddies, Aumils, Zemindars, or other dependents of the Government; not to coin any money at the Moorshedabad, Dacca, or Patna mints, as it occasions a loss to the Sircar, but to coin their money at Calcutta. . . . In the Pergunnas of Cuddy-bary, and Câlloo-baboo-pâra, and my other Jagheer lands under the jurisdiction of Assam, the revenues formerly amounted to 40,000 rupees, arising from the trade of salt, large timbers, and several other articles; the Government's people used to carry on the commerce there, and no other merchants were permitted to traffick with the Mountaineers. Two years ago, Mr. Chevalier went there, and he has put an entire stop to the trade of the Sircar, and himself trafficks with the Mountaineers, from whence a loss arises to my revenues; and he forcibly seizes the taalucdars and ryots of the aforesaid Pergunnas to make them draw timbers, by which means they are brought to the last distress. . . . In the Pergunnas of Gopâl-poor, and Dukhun-bâr-poor, and other districts where salt is made; the people of the Company's Factory work the salt-pans, and they take possession of all the salt which the Molunghies of other Pergunnas have made, by which means I suffer a very great loss. Moreover, they oblige the ryots to receive money from them for purchasing rice, and by force and violence they take more than the market-price affords, and the ryots are running away on account of these oppressions. For many years it has been customary for the Cushman merchants to advance money at Sunderbun, and provide Molunghies to work the salt-pans there; they paid the rent for the salt-

pans

pans at the several Pergunnas, and the duties on the salt, which were paid at Barryseul Chokey belonging to the Shahbunder, amounted to near 30,000 rupees; at present, the people of the Factory have dispossessed the Cushman merchants, and have appropriated all the salt to themselves. Please to write to the Gomastahs of the aforesaid places to desist from exercising any authority there.

T, 3.a. — *Translation of the Governor's Answer to the above Letter* \*.

I Have been honoured with the receipt of your Excellency's letter, and understand the several contents. Agreeably to your desire, I will write to the Chiefs of the Factories, to grant a Company's Dustuck upon the purchase and sale of all shipping goods, and that they should deal like other merchants in such goods as are bought and sold in different parts of the country for the inland trade. . . . That they must not give a Company's Dustuck, but must pay a duty of 9 per cent. upon the purchase of the goods, in lieu of all demands at the Chokeys, &c. into the Bukshbunder, or Shahbunder, and take a Dustuck from thence, and not be guilty of any violence or extortion. I hope that you, on your part, will give orders to the Fougedars and other officers of the Sircar, that they are not to give any interruption to the purchase and sale of shipping-goods, with which there will be a Company's Dustuck, nor to make the least demand upon them; and that they must by no means interrupt the purchase and sale of the inland trade, but must grant a Dustuck for

Q 4

the

\* The President left Mongheer the 27th of December, to return to Calcutta, immediately after the delivery of this letter to the Nabob.



the goods after having taken the stipulated duty upon the purchase price agreeably to your commands; and that the Darogas of the Chokeys must only take a copy of the Dustuck, and make no demands.

I have already wrote to all the Chiefs of the Factories, not to oppress the ryots and inhabitants of the Pergunnas, nor protect your dependents, nor make any disturbance in the affairs of the Sircar. I will now again write particularly to the Chiefs; and fresh orders shall likewise be sent to the several Gomastahs, to desist from such proceedings; to look upon the officer of the Sircar, as the proper magistrate; and in case of any disturbances or disputes, to appear before him and there settle them. You will give orders to your Fougedars and officers, that they must behave to the Gomastahs with truth and uprightness, and act without partiality; if any one makes a complaint against a Gomastah, that they must send for the Gomastah, and decide the dispute; and in case of a Gomastah's making any complaint, that they must take that likewise into consideration, and decide it.

I have wrote to the Chiefs of Chittagong and Luckypoor, that they must not work the salt-pans themselves, nor interrupt the merchants and renters of the salt-pans who pay the government's rents, but purchase from them whatever they want to purchase; I accordingly send you inclosed two letters for the said Chiefs.

Orders shall be sent to the Chiefs and Gomastahs of the Factories, not to rent nor purchase any lands, nor to lend to, nor borrow money from the Zemin-dars and officers of the Sircar, and that they must give up whatever Taalucs they may have heretofore purchased. You will please to give orders, that the purchase-money should be returned;—  
but

but I have received complaints from several places, that the officers of the Sircar insult upon the former collections, and beat, and bind, and imprison the people. Such proceedings are contrary to justice; you will therefore give them orders to return the purchase-money, and by no means to demand the past accounts.

The Chiefs and Gomastahs of the Factories shall be strictly enjoined not to obstruct the dilolls and weavers of the Sircar.

If it is not agreeable to you, that the money and bullion of the English gentlemen and Gomastahs, should be coined in the Patna and Dacca mints, and it occasions a loss to the Sircar, you will give orders to your Drogas there, not to receive from them any money or bullion for coining; yet the Shroffs, upon being acquainted with this, will demand as much batta as they please, by which means the Company's business will be stop'd; I hope, therefore, that you will write to the Naibs of Moorshedabad, Patna, and Dacca, that the money of the English Company and gentlemen must pay batta according to the rate of the Bazar, and that they must punish the Shroffs in case of their demanding more.

The Gomastahs at Gwalpara, shall be strictly charged to carry on their commercial business as formerly, and not to trade themselves with the Mountaineers, but to make all their purchases and sales through the hands of the Droga of the Sircar. You will please to enjoin the Droga to deal with the English Gomastahs in the same manner as with other merchants.

The following is a copy of the President's answer to the Patna Deputy's representations, of which answer Mr. Ellis had a copy.

U,3.—*Transla-*

U, 3. — *Translation of the Governor's Letter  
to Rajah Nobit Roy.*

Dated 5 Jan. 1763.

I Have read your several papers of requests. Agreeably to what you write concerning the abolishing of Colonel-gunge, I have directed Mr. Ellis to abolish it; accordingly, from this day, the merchants have been forbidden to bring their goods to the said Gunge; but as it is necessary to keep a small quantity of grain, on the Company's account, that it may be used in a time of scarcity, I have therefore directed Mr. Ellis to build Golahs on such places as you shall assign for that purpose, and to purchase from the merchants of Colonel-gunge 20,000 maunds of grain to be laid up there on the Company's account; after which, whatever quantity they may have remaining, they may sell agreeably to their own pleasure, or carry it to the government's Gunges, and lay it up there. If they desire to serve the Company as heretofore, it's well; and if they are desirous of settling in any of the Sircar's Gunges, they have liberty so to do. When you have fixed upon a place for erecting the Golahs, you will send a servant with a note to Mr. Ellis, and you will allow what time may be necessary for removing the grain from the old Golahs to the new ones, that no unreasonable loss may fall upon the merchants.

With regard to what your write about not holding any Taalucs, nor lending to, nor borrowing from the officers and Zemidars, orders have been given to this purport, and I understand that no body has done such things; however, I have now repeated those orders.

You



You say that numbers of merchants carry away goods for sale under the protection of the Factory, and that I should enquire into this matter. . . . It has of old been customary that a Dustuck should be granted with whatever cloth, &c. is purchased by the merchants from the English Company and gentlemen, and that they should accordingly carry away the goods and sell them wherever they please. This is no new custom, and this is the only protection offered them.

You complain that the merchants carry away goods, the produce of this country, from the Factory into the provinces. . . . With regard to such goods as are bought and sold in the country, the Nabob and I have agreed, that a certain duty shall be paid for them at once, according to the purchase price; when this regulation shall every where take place, no duties will be demanded upon the road.

I understand what you write about shutting up the Burbanna wicket of the Fort, and concerning the intrenchment by the river side, and I have seen both the places in question. The intrenchment by the river side is very proper; as to the shutting the wicket, though there does not appear to be any great necessity for it, and the going round about will be an inconvenience to the people of the Factory; nevertheless, as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you please, no body will obstruct you.

Zein-ul-aubudeen, the Aumil of Bahar, writes, that a Gomastah of the Factory took an obligation from one Deynehund a merchant, that nobody should buy Opium besides the English Factory. I asked the Aumil in your presence, and in that of several merchants, whether he had a copy of the obligation or not; he answered, that Dynehund complained to him, that "Benymadoo an English Gomastah had taken an obligation from  
" him,

“ him, and had forbid him trading in Opium,  
 “ and that therefore, it could not be expected  
 “ he should pay the usual duties :” and that he  
 shewed him a copy of the obligation, but did not  
 leave it with him. Now, it is uncertain whether  
 this story be true, or whether the merchant was  
 prompted by his own interest to impose upon the  
 Aumil, that he might avoid paying the duties. It  
 is therefore proper, you should send for the mer-  
 chant and enquire into the affair, in presence of  
 Mr. Ellis, whom I have directed to inflict a pro-  
 per punishment upon the Gomastah, in case the  
 complaint is proved ; and in case it appears to be  
 false, you on your part should inflict a proper pu-  
 nishment upon the merchant.

With regard to the Sircar's salt, that is in the  
 hands of Meer Mahomed Ashruff, it appears  
 from the account he shewed me, that he has in  
 different places disposed of 23,596 maunds, and  
 that he has now remaining upon his hands 27,333  
 maunds : I enquired of him in your presence what  
 was the reason of his having disposed of so small  
 a quantity only in such a length of time ; he re-  
 plied, that “ in many places there was salt be-  
 “ longing to English gentlemen, and it was not  
 “ in his power to stop the sale of their merchan-  
 “ dize, in order to dispose of the Sircar's ; and  
 “ that notwithstanding the obligation entered  
 “ into by the merchants of the city, the officers  
 “ of several of the neighbouring places did not  
 “ put a stop to the business of other merchants,  
 “ so that it was impossible he should sell the  
 “ Government's salt at an advanced price, whilst  
 “ they sold their's at the former price.” As the  
 business of the merchants of the city has been  
 stopt here for three or four months, by which  
 they have suffered greatly, and as they will be en-  
 tirely ruined if their business continues to be so  
 stopt,

stop, I would therefore advise you to take back what salt of the Sircar's remains unfold, and to dispose of it at the market price, for the Nabob will by no means approve of injuring the merchants. You should examine Meer Ashruff's account, whether he has sold agreeably thereunto, or more than is therein specified; in case he has sold more, it is reasonable that you should take from him whatever money he has received for it; but if his account be just, he is not in fault; receive the money from him accordingly, and make no further demands; I shall acquaint the Nabob of all these particulars, and he will inform you of his pleasure.

You desire Mr. Ellis may be directed not to send any money or bullion to the mint to be coined. This affair is within the limits of your authority; give orders to the Droga of the mint, not to receive any money or bullion that may be brought by the servants of the Factory to be coined, and write to Mr. Ellis, that if he chuses it, you will coin money for him on the same terms as for other merchants, or else that he may exchange it at the Bazar price.

I understand what you write concerning the revenues of Burrumpoor village, and Nuzzurana for the salt-petre; some thousand rupees were at different times paid by the Company to Rajah Ramnarain's army, of which I saw the particulars in the Company's books; and I have directed Mr. Ellis to make out the account, and after having deducted Rajah Ramnarain's debt, to pay the balance into the Sircar's treasury.

It is proper, that you should look upon me as one interested in your welfare, and let me have the pleasure of hearing from you every now and then.

W, 3.



W, 3.—*Copy of a Letter from the Council to the Governor and Mr. Hastings.*

Dated 27 Dec. 1762.

**W**E have received your letter of the 15th instant; we have paid due regard to the substance thereof; but as the articles now drawn up, or that may be concluded on, must in all probability prove the standard and limitation of our inland trade for all future years, we think it is a matter which should be maturely considered, and determined on by a full Board. We have therefore ordered the letter to lay on the table until the President's return to Calcutta, when we shall come to a final resolution on the subject, and would on that account recommend his leaving Mr. Hastings with the Nabob to ratify such articles as may be then agreed on.

And as we think further, that the opinions of as many of the members of the Board should be taken in this matter, as can be conveniently collected, we beg leave to advise the President's talking with Mr. Ellis for that purpose.

We shall write to Luckypoor, agreeable to what you recommend, regarding the Zemindary of Bauboopoor, and also forward to Dacca the orders on Mahomed Aly. We must however remark, that we were in hopes from the manner the President expressed himself in a former letter, that Mahomed Aly would have been dismissed from his employ with disgrace, and obliged to make restitution for the damages sustained, by the delays he had occasioned; and we must needs say, that we think, these are points which ought still to be insisted on, as we cannot esteem his being ordered to refund the extorted duties as any satisfaction, because

because we cannot see any right or authority, that he (Mahomed Aly) had to exact these additional duties, or cause the interruptions he did, until a treaty of the nature now proposed had been concluded.

X, 3.—*Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Council.*

Dated 15 Jan. 1763.

WITH respect to Mahomed Aly, the Dacca Collector, I could not refuse a proposition so reasonable as what the Nabob made, that is, that he should have an opportunity of answering for himself. Inclosed, I send you copies of his addresses to the Nabob on the subject of the complaints against him. Mirza Aly Reza is appointed Ameen, to go and enquire upon the spot, and orders should be sent to the Chiefs at Dacca, Chittagong and Luckypoor, to produce what proofs they can of the facts complained of to the laid Ameen.

I can venture to assure you, the Nabob will not be backward in punishing Mahomed Aly, if he proves guilty. Toorutsing, the Aumuldar of Tangepoor, having been convicted of killing Mr. Gray's Gomastah, has received sentence to be hanged at the place where the violence was committed; and Sheer Aly Cawn, for endeavouring to screen him and his ill behaviour to our Gomastahs in general, will be dismissed from the government of Purnea.

I observe what you mention concerning the inland trade to Mr. Hastings and me jointly. The Company's Dustuck never having been granted for those articles of trade by any former Governors, neither shall I think myself empowered to grant them

them without the orders of our honourable masters; and therefore to prevent our being liable to have our goods stopt for duties at many different places, as is the case with the country merchants, I wished to have those duties made up in the most reasonable manner into one sum, to be paid at one place before the dispatch of the goods. After getting what informations we could, I agreed with the Nabob, that they should be rated at 9 per cent. upon the purchase price, which being paid before the dispatch of the goods, and the Dustuck of the country Government taken, they should be liable to no further demands throughout the three provinces. You will observe, that this is less than what the Luckypoor gentlemen in their letter of the 6th of November last mention, they have always paid upon salt and tobacco, which are the principal objects of this trade. In my way down, I took an account from the agents of some Patna and Hougly merchants of what they had paid, and were liable to pay for the salt under their charge, by which you will perceive that the Sircary duties only, without reckoning the Dustore taken at the several Chokeys, amount, by the lowest of the several informations, to more than 25 rupees per 100 maunds. I have sent a Copy of this account to the Nabob, and recommended to him to free the merchants in general from such a variety of demands, by receiving from them in like manner a reasonable rate of customs in one place only.

Y.3.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Council.*

Dated 9 Jan. 1763.

**B** EING called upon by the council of this Factory for an explanation of a letter wrote to  
Mahomed



Mahomed Aly, Collector of the revenues of Dacca. I think proper, with the consent of the gentlemen here, to address myself to the Board on this occasion; and at the same time do declare the pleasure it affords me, to vindicate any part of my conduct that may appear dark or mysterious before so just a tribunal.

The letter addressed to Mahomed Aly was wrote and sent to him the 9th of October, a copy of which, and his answer, I forwarded to Mr. Van Sittart. The same was received by that gentleman during his abode at the French gardens.

When an entire interruption was put to all commerce, our servants plundered and used ill, the flag grossly insulted even in the city, and almost under our eyes, when our intercourse to Calcutta by letters was one time stopt, in what shape was I to act but in the manner I did? Mahomed Aly was pointed out by the whole country, as the principal encourager of these grievances and insults. In my applying to him for redress by the Dewân and Vackeel of the Factory, he constantly denied having the least hand in them. I therefore thought it best in such a situation of affairs, to apply myself to him by letter, and to demand a positive declaration as to the cause of these disturbances. The answer was such as might be expected from an intriguing man, in every respect evasive and unsatisfactory.

You think, gentlemen, the stile of my letter was rather improper, and tending to promote those evils which you have taken so much pains to remedy, namely, a jealousy and distrust. I must beg leave, gentlemen, to dissent from you in this opinion, and maintain, that the extravagant and vexatious behaviour of the government was the cause of those evils, and raised, I may venture to say, both jealousy and distrust in every breast. In such a conjuncture, I think, an Englishman cannot

R

Speak

speak too bold. I only wrote what I imagined would have had a proper effect on the mind of a man, who I supposed acted from his own judgment, and without a legal order. The system of the present government must be entirely changed within these last twelve months, if the ears of the officers in it are too delicate to bear with a warm remonstrance. I can conceive my letter to Mahomed Aly to be nothing more, and considering the importance of the affair, not too warm. As Chief of the Factory, I esteemed it my particular duty to support those privileges our nation are invested with; and had I tamely submitted to such a gross invasion of them, without any endeavour on my side to procure redress, I think I should be unworthy of the post I hold, and deservedly despised by the generality of the world.

I hope, gentlemen, the above will be sufficient to ascertain to you, the just motives that induced me to write the said letter, and satisfy you (considering the occasion) the stile of it was not altogether improper. The original letter I now inclose you from which the Persian translation was made, tho' the purport of it is little different from the copy sent up in your general letter.

Z,3.—*Copy of a Letter from Mess. Johnstone and Hay to the Council.*

Dated 14 Jan. 1763.

**W**E have received the copy of a letter wrote by the President to the Board, complaining of Mr. Bolts's conduct in writing a letter in the name of Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, to the Purnea Phousdar, representing the grievances and oppressions that our Gomastahs met with in transacting our business in that country, and asserting the privileges of the Phirmaund; and at the same time

time recommending to you, to inflict a censure or punishment on Mr. Bolts for the same. We therefore think it necessary to our duty to inform you, that Mr. Van Sittart, when he cast the whole of that transaction on Mr. Bolts, did it not with any good reason, as we were both acquainted with the contents of the letter, and of its being sent; and we cannot help thinking, from the terms of his letter, that it was wrote with no other design, than to shew how blameable we were in his eyes, and how we ought to be treated; but we hope you, gentlemen, will judge otherwise. We are so far from thinking with the President, that it is criminal to assert the privilege of the Phirmaund, that we think every one that does not, little deserves the benefit of it, and that it's being asserted in private letters can never weaken the Company's government, or prove prejudicial to their true interests. The justice of our Gomastah's complaints to which we refer, and which gave occasion to our letter to Sheer Aly Cawn, will appear by his answer, in which he acknowledges, that by the Nabob's orders our trade shall be entirely confined to that of ready money purchases, contrary to the established customs throughout the country; and which must of consequence put a stop to all trade, or fetter it in a manner unknown before in the worst of times in Bengal.

Our letter, as translated by Mr. Gulston, which we now lay before the Board, we hope will prove unexceptionable; for when it is said, in case we did not find an end was put to the oppressions complained of, that we would make application to the Nabob for redress for ourselves and others; it is not to be imagined, that we should have procured this application to the Nabob otherwise than from your Board; and this was our intention. But Mr. Van Sittart is of a different opinion, and takes great exception at its being said to



be designed to be done in the English name, and redress obtained for others. Had he thought proper to have mentioned it to either of the partners residing in Calcutta, he might have been satisfied there was no bad design in using the word others, but that it was introduced entirely by mistake. And we have reason to think Mr. Van Sittart was not unacquainted with the contents of that letter before he left Calcutta, as our Gomastahs wrote us after the receipt of the letter, the Phouzdar would not send us his answer till it was approved of by the President, for which purpose it was sent by the Phouzdar with one of his own to Calcutta, and we did not receive the answer till some days after Mr. Van Sittart's departure from Calcutta.

The unwillingness the President had to believe complaints of this nature, and more particularly that they were owing to the Nabob's orders, induced us to address Sheer Aly Cawn in the manner we did, to see whether he would answer us as he had done our Gomastah, and on this to have a foundation for applying to your honourable Board for redress. You will please to remark, that Sheer Aly Cawn represents dadney advanced for goods, as money let out at interest; which latter business, our Gomastah never carried on, and we can't conceive that the misbehaviour of a few Gomastahs in that or any other way, when proved, joined to the many groundless complaints of the government, should be esteemed sufficient cause for the Nabob to usurp, or we to give up the privileges of the English Company in this country, when at the same time so many well grounded causes of complaints have been given by the servants of the Nabob to those, who, by the Company's indulgence, have the privilege of Dustucks, and of course exemption from all duties, and their protection. That these privileges for several months have been greatly infringed

fringed in some parts, and entirely taken away in others by the country government, is what we, as well as most English traders except the President, have severely felt in their private fortunes.

We received a letter from our agent, Mr. Robinson, at Gualpara, informing us, of the difficulties he laboured under from the obstacles thrown in the way of our trade, and the danger with which he was threatened by the Phousdar of Rungamatty, which he represented as greatly fomented and increased by the arrival and practices of one Gongaram Metre, who was come there in August, and assumed to himself on the strength of his Perwanah from the Governor, the office of inquisitor and supervisor of the agents, of the English, &c. in those parts. The Perwanah, extracts of Mr. Robinson's letter, Gongaram Metre's letter to Mr. Tiexeira, and the letter from the Rungamatty Fouzdar to Mr. Robinson, are submitted to your consideration. Some of these were forwarded to the Governor, requesting the necessary redress; in answer we have received through him a Perwanah from the Nabob to the Fouzdar of Rungamatty, as by subjoined translation, directing him not to obstruct our trade, or collect duties on goods provided for exportation, or that come from Calcutta with a Dustuck, but to levy the usual duties on other goods; and to send to himself and to the President, an account of the rates according to which they pay. This we humbly conceive is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffier Cawn, and which we imagine was not the sentiments of the majority of the Board at the time the President left it. By this Perwanah, however, we have not got the least satisfaction for the insults and losses we have sustained by obstructing our trade, both inland and Calcutta, but

on the contrary, it is left to the Phouzdar's discretion, who has been guilty of the violences and losses we complained of, to fix the rates of the duties on the different articles of inland trade, on which, to the best of our knowledge, the Company's servants that have traded there since the treaty with Jaffier Aly Cawn never yet paid any, and of course there could be no custom to follow:—which scheme, should it take place, would reduce us on a foot (if not below the traders of the country) as is the wish of the Governor's agents in that part, probably in the imagination that this may be a means of throwing the whole trade into their hands by the extraordinary interest Mr. Van Sittart has with the Nabob.

Whatever opinion the President may entertain of Mr. Cartier, or Mr. Chevalier, they have had the happiness hitherto to be esteemed by every body that knows them. The gentleman we sent up, Mr. Robinson, had the permission and approbation of the Board; we think therefore, if such grievances as were alledged against English agents and Gomastahs really existed in these parts, the subjecting them to the scrutiny and supervisal of black dependants of whatever demonination, without the knowledge of the Board, was an indignity offered to it—to us, and to every gentleman concerned; and however the propagating such notions in this country may serve to strengthen the hands of government, we humbly conceive, it can give but a very odd opinion of the other members to whom it is jointly intrusted.

In the course of the business we have carried on, we have met with the greatest impediments in almost all parts, but in particular in Purnea, Rungpoor, districts of Gualparah, and Rungamatty, from the different Phouzdars, Zemindars, Mr. Moore, Gongaram Metre, &c. the accounts of which, as we have received them from our agents,

we



we now lay before you; and hope you will procure for us that satisfaction which we have hitherto been unable to obtain.

A, 4.—*Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca to the Council.*

WE did ourselves the honour to write you yesterday, and have since been surprized by the receipt of two papers (which come inclosed for your perusal) from the Nabob, and from Mahomed Aly of this place, who desired to be informed what degree of regard we intended to pay the orders they contained; to which we replied, that we did not dare to acquiesce with the terms of those papers, as the President and Council of Calcutta, on whom alone it rested to give sanction to such commands, had not thought proper to transmit us any such instructions. We know not in what light you will look on these directions to the Naib of this place, but hope you will approve the reply we made, and will pardon us the liberty of addressing a few lines on this subject. The immediate circulation of these articles throughout the country will be attended with very bad consequences to the Company's investments, and must intirely ruin most of us at this place, who on the faith of treaties or public indulgences have large concerns abroad, which never can be collected in, if those privileges without any previous notice be snatched from us. The protection of our Gomastahs and servants from the oppression and jurisdiction of the Zemindars and their Cutcherries has ever been found to be a liberty highly essential, both to the honour and interest of our nation; and we apprehend the utility of it, for carrying on every kind of business, but especially the provision of cloth, is so well known to you gentlemen, that it is needless for us to add more, as you will at once

perceive the numberless vexations and interruptions we shall meet with, if the Zemindars have authority on every slight dispute, to summon and confine our Gomastahs, wherever they think proper. The injunctions with respect to Dustucks affect every article of commerce, except such as are imported on shipping, Mr. Cartier being enjoined not to give one for any article, that is the produce of Bengal; and to pay a duty of nine per cent. to the Nabob, on every merchandize not brought in or sent by sea. This surely cannot be meant, but the words seem too equivocal not to make us wish to have your sense of them on so important a point. A duty once fixed could scarce be a burden, but if added to this, we are subjected to vexatious applications to the Nabob's officers for Dustucks, it will be a grievance we shall indeed feel. The dignity and benefit of our Dustucks are the chief badges of honour, or at least interest, we enjoy from our Phirmaund, and has been held in such esteem, as to secure our effects from those depredations, which the natives suffer in passing their goods through the country; and if these new duties on all the products of the country are thought just, may not the Nabob be properly secured of them by the Shawbunder's receipts for the customs, being always affixed to the back of every Dustuck, previous to its being signed. This will surely ascertain, in the most ample manner, the duties to the Nabob, and free us from the principal grievance we can feel by their increase. The prohibition with respect to Toffals, \* is a restraint not even put upon the Moguls and natives. The liberty of erecting new ones so far from being injurious to the Nabob, absolutely enhances his customs, by clearing lands that would otherwise have been uninhabited; and the order to purchase every thing for ready money

\* Salt-pans,

ney amounts nearly to an exclusion from all such branches of trade, as the vender will then impose on us whatever prices they judge proper.

With respect to Assam, we must beg leave to observe, that the Nabob, or his Fougedar of Rungamatty, can have no more right to regulate the terms of our commerce with the natives of that country than with those of China. All the power he exerts over our Gomastahs is arbitrary and oppressive, and neither justice or ancient customs can warrant such abuses, or regulate his officers in the collecting of taxes. The whole direction is now referred to his Droga of Rungamatty. No duties have ever yet been paid on Lacks, Muggadooties, and other goods brought from Assam: those goods may surely be esteemed imports, when they are brought into Bengal, and may be intitled to our Dustucks.

All our privileges, all our fortunes, and future prospects, depend upon the result of your deliberation on these points; and we hope, let what will be your sentiments, you will be pleased to suspend the execution of them till our present concerns are collected in, with our ancient indulgences. No treaty of commerce in any country has been carried into execution, or fresh duties levied, without a previous declaration, for as long a term as was adequate to the settlement of those concerns that were to be influenced by such new regulations; and we flatter ourselves, that we shall not become objects of unexampled severity on this occasion. The trade of the servants has ever been thought worthy of our protection, and we hope, if particular branches are now to be given up, we shall still be indulged with the influence of your authority, and privilege of our Dustuck, till we can finish our present engagements. If you refuse us this request, gentlemen, you undo us at once, as the publication of those orders from Mongheer, with

the



the stamp of your authority, will so affect our national credit and influence in the country, as must for ever disable us from collecting in the large sums we have outstanding.

If we have obtruded on the Board more than is deemed fit, or presumed in any part of this, to advise where obedience was due, we crave your pardon, and shall be ready to pay the utmost respect to any orders transmitted by your Board.

B, 4—*Translation of the Governor's Letter to the Nabob.*

**Y**OUR gracious Perwanah is arrived, and has greatly honoured me. I am informed of all the particulars of your high commands.

It shall be written to the chiefs of our Factories, that they are to give a Dastac for the buying and selling of ship merchandize, and merchandize that they buy and sell in every district, for traffic in this country; they are to do according to custom of other traders and merchants, and not to give the Company's Dastac. They are to take a Dastac from Buckshbander or Shahbender, paying in upon the cost of the merchandize nine per cent. including wharfs; and other receipts of custom, nor shall they use any manner of force or violence, extortion or unfair dealing.

It is hoped, that your Excellency's Perwanah will be issued out to the Foujdars, and other officers of the government; that the Company's Dastac is to go along with the purchase and sale of ship merchandize, and they are by no means to stop it or demand the smallest custom, nor shall they hinder the purchase and sale of commodities for country trade; but they are to give Dastacs, receiving the duties on cost of the merchandize, agreeable to your Excellency's high command. And the Darugahs at the Chokey's are only to take copies of the Dastac without demanding any thing.

Here-

Heretofore it was written to all the chiefs of our Factories, to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants of the Pergannahs, and protecting the dependents and servants of the Sircar, and damaging the affairs of the Sircar. Now repeated directions shall be sent, that they are to refrain from such proceedings; and further, considering the officer of the government as magistrate where they are, in case of any trouble or disputes happening, they are to appear before that magistrate, and have them settled.

Let your Excellency's instructions be sent to the Foujdars and officers, that they are to determine disputes of our Factors, with justice and truth, without partiality. And if any one complains against a Factor, to send for him, and settle the affair face to face; and if a Factor has a complaint against any one, to consider it well, and so determine it.

It has been written to the chiefs of Islamabad and Luckypoor, that they shall not make salt works, nor hinder the merchants and farmers of the salt works, that pay revenues to the government, but buy what they want of them at a reasonable rate: the two letters to the chiefs aforesaid being inclosed with this address.

An order will be sent to the chiefs and servants of all our Factories that they are not to farm or buy lands; and whatever they may have bought heretofore, to resign it.

Let your Excellency's order be passed, that the price of the purchase be likewise returned.

But from several places there is come complaints, that the officers of the Sircar importune for former collections, and beat, bind, and confine the people; which doings are far from being just.

Let your Excellency's order be passed, that they return

return back the price of the purchase, and never demand old accounts.

The chiefs and servants of the Factories will be directed, that they are not to hinder the brokers and weavers of the government.

And, if your Excellency is not pleased that the money and bullion of English gentlemen and their Factors should be made into Siccas in the mints of Azimabad, and Jehangirnagarr, and by it there will be a loss to the Sircar; let the Darugahs of those places be ordered, not to receive the money and bullion of the English to be made into Siccas. But upon hearing this, the money-changers will demand as exchange just what they want, and the Company's business will be impeded by this means.

It is hoped, that a Perwanah will be issued out to the Naibs of Moorsshedabad, Johangirnagarr, and Azimabad, that the exchange on money of the English Company, and gentlemen, shall be taken according to the market currency; and in case of exaction, to bring the money-changers to punishment.

Directions will be sent to the Factor (Gomastah) at Gwallparah, that he is to transact business of traffic as was custom heretofore, and he is not to trade with the people of the mountains; whatever he has to buy or sell in that place, he is to do by means of the officer of the government. Let your Excellency's order be sent to the Darugah, that he is to deal with the English Factors, as with other merchants.

C, 4.—*Translation of the Nabob's Perwanah to Mahomed Aly Beg.*

*May the Noble our well-beloved Mahomed Aly Beg remain in Health.*

**I**N the month Jemmâdy-ath-thâny, the 4th year of his Majesty's reign, agreeing with the  
1176th



1176th of the Hegira, Mr. Van Sittart came to visit me at Mongheer; seeing that you wrote an excuse for not collecting the balances in the country, because of the disturbances of the English Factors; therefore all country disputes, and the traffic of the English Factors were settled, and the Governor aforesaid has accordingly given me written security under his own hand. As a copy thereof under seal of the magistrate is sent inclosed, you are to act in conformance to it, not differing in a single point, either more or less from it. And further, you are to shew the said copy to the English gentlemen and their Factors, and tell them that they are to transact all business and affairs of trade according to the written security, and in no wise are to use violence or extortion — if they act contrary thereto, I will not suffer such behaviour in the country, but will turn them out. . . . And you our well-beloved are to act agreeable to this written security. If any one of the Factors shall bring to pass any thing contrary to this written security, and cause a disturbance, you shall remove him, and send me a review of the case taken exactly without the least difference or disagreement. It is with much and earnest importunity that I procured a written security to this purpose. . . . And having sent copies thereof to all my officers, and to you of noble rank, if you do not cause business to go on agreeable to it in the districts subject to you, I shall be very much offended with you, nor will I in future pay any regard to your complaints, and take care to act agreeable to this single writing, regarding it of as much force as writing a thousand times.

D,4.—*Extract of Consultation of the 17th of January 1763. (Present Mes. Amyatt, Hay, and Watts.)*

(The Dacca Letter with the Translation having been read.)

**A**S it appears from the consultation of the 22d of March, that it was then resolved to call for the opinion of the field officers in a case which the Board esteem similar to this; and as they think that the issue of the present matter must highly concern the national honour, and the Company's business.

Agreed, we send for Major Carnac to the Board to take his seat, and assist in our deliberation on the subject of these letters.

The major being come to the council-room, takes his seat at the Board.

Read again the Dacca letter, dated the 10th instant, with the translates entered above of the two Persian papers which were inclosed.

The Board having maturely considered the same, are unanimously of opinion, that in the letter from the President to Cossim Aly Cawn, he assumed a right to which he was no ways authorized; that the regulations proposed by him are dishonourable to us as Englishmen, and tend to the ruin of all publick and private trade; that the President, issuing out regulations independently of the Council, is an absolute breach of their privileges; and that therefore directions should be sent to Dacca, to suspend paying any regard to these regulations and orders which the Nabob has sent to their Factory. And as the Nabob has declared, in his letter to the Naib of Dacca, that he will turn out those Englishmen or their Gomastahs, who will not comply with these destructive regulations. It appears to the Board of the utmost importance, and they are therefore further of opinion, that the  
absent

absent members should be immediately called to Calcutta (excepting the Chiefs of Patna and Chittagong, whose distance from the Presidency may render their coming inconvenient and prejudicial to the Company's affairs) that the whole may be consulted on a matter of such high consequence, and a plan be established for the security of our commerce, and for the proper conducting of the country correspondence.

Agreed, that we write accordingly in the terms of the above minute to Dacca, Cossimbazar, and Luckypoo, directing the Chiefs to repair immediately to Calcutta. . . . But as the distance from Burdwan is very small, and Mr. Johnstone's presence must be absolutely necessary there at this season of the heavy collections.

Agreed, that our letter to him be only to hold himself in readiness to repair to Calcutta on receipt of our further orders.

The major withdraws.

Mrs. Johnstone and Hay send in a letter regarding the Persian letter which they wrote to Sheer Aly Cawn the Fougedar of Purnea—also copies and extracts of sundry letters and papers relative thereto.

The same being now read, the Board are of opinion, that they sufficiently account for, and vindicate those gentlemen in that transaction.

As the President was not even now without hopes, that it might be in his power to prevent the execution of the designs, which he saw were laid for breaking with the Nabob, though he had no other arms than the rectitude of his intentions, and the propriety of the measures which he had taken, to oppose to prejudices and violence; he resolved to answer with temper and coolness all the objections made, and to shew the illegality of the proceedings of certain violent tempers, that if he could not bring them to reason, he might yet



yet obviate any pretence, which they might form to bring on the intended rupture. Accordingly, at the next consultation he entered his answer and observations, as follows :

D, 4. a. — *Copy of the Governor's Minute of the 1st of February 1763.*

I Have read, with great surprize, the minute of your consultation of the 17th ultimo, upon Mef. Johnstone and Hay's letter of the 14th, and upon the Dacca letter of the 10th, accompanied with my answer to the Nabob, upon the subject of the proposed regulations for the private inland trade. I will endeavour to point out the wrong you have done me, and the injustice, as well as the indecency, of the reflections with which Mef. Johnstone's and Hay's said letter is filled, and which I wonder should escape your censure, much more that they should gain your approbation.

The honourable the Court of Directors, as well as their servants here, have always understood a distinction between the trade in articles *imported*, and to be *exported* by *shipping* and the *private inland* trade ; that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced and consumed in the country, of which salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, are the chief articles. For the *former* trade, the *Company's Duffuck* has always been granted ; but the *latter* has been carried on with the *Duffuck of the country government*, and their duties paid ; but those duties being different at different places, and even varied at the same place, according to the disposition and authority of the Nabob's Collector, and the degree of force with which the English Gomattah could back his refusal, a fixed regulation was thought necessary to prevent the numberless disputes, occasioned by this commerce in different parts of the province. Our honourable masters have expressly ordered  
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in more than one of their letters, that the trade in salt, and betel-nut, shall not be carried on to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government; and yourselves, gentlemen, in your letter of the 15th of November, transmitted me a list of the Shawbunder duties usually paid by the gentlemen at Luckypoor upon salt and tobacco, in order to assist me "*in finally settling these matters with the Nabob upon a solid plan.*" Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed, and where the English Gomastahs shall be under no controul, but regarding themselves far above the magistrates of the country where they reside, take upon themselves to decide not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant or inhabitant with another; or is it possible the government can collect their due revenues in such circumstances?

The plan for carrying on the private inland trade, contained in my letter to the Nabob, is the same in substance as the articles which, in my joint letter with Mr. Hastings of the 15th of December, we mention to have proposed to the Nabob. It is such a plan, as seemed to us to be most conformable to the Company's intentions in respect to that trade, most consistent with the rights and true interests of their servants here, and with common reason and equity. And I call on you, gentlemen, in the first place, to prove that I have *assumed a right to which I was no ways authorized*, that the regulations proposed, are *dishonourable to you as Englishmen*, or tend to the *ruin of all publick or private trade*; which are the terms in which you have been pleased to express your opinion: and in the second place, to form a plan yourselves which shall be more conformable to the good purpose before-mentioned, and, without regard to which, I am persuaded our honourable masters will not give the sanction

sanction of their approbation to this new trade ; form such a plan, gentlemen, and I will subscribe to it with pleasure, and engage the Nabob shall do so too.

For my own part I think, that the honour and dignity of our nation would be better consulted by a scrupulous and careful restraint of our Dustuck, than by extending it beyond its usual bounds, and by putting our Gomastahs under some checks, than by suffering them to exercise an authority in the country, every one according to the means put into his hands, and thereby bringing an odium upon the name of the English, by repeated violences done to the inhabitants.

The Dacca gentlemen, in their letter of the 10th, represent, that they shall suffer greatly if such regulations take place. It is not as to the duty they complain, but the being obliged to apply to the Nabob's officers for Dustucks, and having their Gomastahs or servants subjected to the jurisdiction of the Zemindars or other Cutcherries. The gentlemen at Calcutta have never found any difficulty in getting the Hougly Dustuck for our salt to go up the country, nor have we ever thought it either inconvenient or dishonourable, to apply for it to the officers of the government. This is the only article we deal in here, that falls under the distinction of the inland trade. The Dacca gentlemen either do not or will not understand that distinction. They say, " The Chief is enjoined (by the governor's letter to the Nabob) not to give a Dustuck for  
" any article that is the produce of Bengal, and  
" to pay a duty of 9 per cent. to the Nabob on  
" every merchandize not brought in or sent by  
" sea." The distinction mentioned in my letter to the Nabob is, that *all goods imported, or for exportation by shipping*, shall go as usual with the Company's Dustuck, and be subject to no kind of  
of



of demands; and all goods the produce of this country for inland trade, shall pay duties to the country government and go with their Duffuck. Now the principal articles of this inland trade are, as I have mentioned in all my letters to the Board, salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, produced and bought in one part of this country, and sent to other parts of the same country, for sale and consumption. . . . Articles which before the troubles we were forbid to trade in, but in which our influence since has enabled us to deal, although with many objections from the country government, and frequent complaints from the country merchants who used to live by that trade; however, it has never been regarded as a part of our Firmaund privilege, and we have been contented to carry it on with the Duffucks of the country government, and paying their duties. The present regulation is intended only to give us a confirmed right to benefits heretofore always disputed, and upon terms which seem to me very reasonable.

Now as to the Gomastahs, it is proposed in my letter to the Nabob, that orders shall be given to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants, or protecting the dependents and servants of the Sircar; that in case of their having a dispute with, or complaint against any merchant or inhabitant of the country, they shall lay such dispute or complaint before the officer of the government, to be determined in the proper course of the jurisdiction of the country. . . . And in like manner, if any one should have a dispute with, or complaint against the Gomastah, the Gomastah shall appear before the officer of the government to have it settled. In both cases, if the Gomastah thinks himself aggrieved by the decision, he may appeal to his employer, and he to the governor at Calcutta. Nothing here is meant to affect, nor can affect our rights over the

weavers who receive advances for the Company's cloths; and who having nothing to do with rents, or employments under the country government, are not understood to be their dependents or servants, and therefore may and ought to be protected against any unjust demands of the government's officers, at the discretion of the Chief of the Factory, to which they belong. But it is not to these Gomastahs so many acts of oppression are charged, their business is plain and simple; they have only to make the usual advances to the weavers, and see that they perform their contracts; and being immediately under the eye of one or other of the Factories, they cannot be guilty of great extravagancies. The complaints come from the distant corners of the province, as Rungpoor, Purnea, Dinagepoor, Rungamatty, Gualparah, Sillet, Backergunge, &c. where, if those complaints are true, the English Gomastahs being under no controul of their masters, despise and ill treat the officers of the government, set themselves up for judges and magistrates, hear disputes between the inhabitants and extort fines, force the merchants to buy their goods at more than the market price, and to sell what they require as much below it. The complaints I have received of this sort are innumerable. I have done my utmost to find out the truth, and get redress, and put an end to them by forwarding copies to the Chief of the Factory, nearest the place where the cause of complaint has arisen, and desiring him to enquire into it; but for the most part, I have had no other satisfaction, than the Gomastah's flat denial of the fact. The places being very distant, a proper examination of witnesses is almost impossible, either before this Board, or any of the subordinates. How then are such disputes to be settled, or the truth discovered? I am far from saying, that the method I have proposed is free from objection, because I am  
very

very sensible many of the officers of the government will not exercise their authority impartially, and many will gladly take every opportunity of obstructing our Gomastahs, and particularly in this new commerce; but I cannot think of a better plan, and it is certainly more agreeable to reason, and the practice of all nations that the jurisdiction should be in the hands of the proper officers of the government than our agents and Gomastahs, who are permitted to reside there only as trading Factors, and where neither the laws of our country, nor the powers intrusted to us by the Company, give us any judicial authority.

I wish, gentlemen, you may form a better plan, since you do not approve of mine; but if it should appear, that this trade cannot be carried on without investing our Gomastahs with an armed force, and authority to exercise that force over the inhabitants at their discretion, I think it should be forbid, and we content ourselves with carrying our trade as far as the Company carry their's; and so far we shall be sure of the protection of their force, under the direction of one or other of the Factories, who will be answerable to the Board for the use they make of them, which the Gomastahs are not, and therefore such an authority should not be trusted in their hands.

Messrs. Johnstone and Hay complain, that I sent a person to enquire into the truth of the complaints against the English Gomastahs in the country, and they dignified a poor Banyan with the title of Inquisitor. My letter to those gentlemen, from Mongheer, will shew the only authority with which that person was invested; and as they have not laid before you a copy of that letter, I have subjoined it hereunto, under N<sup>o</sup> 1, as it is at least as material as some of those pieces they refer to. As soon as this inquisitor returns, his report shall be laid before you; and as every step I can take  
for



for the redress of the inhabitants of the country is complained of as an incroachment upon the privileges of the English, and also proves ineffectual, I shall for the future lay all such petitions from the inhabitants before the Board, hoping that, by your resolutions, some effectual method will be provided for restraining the excesses of the Gomastahs. The most material of those that have lately been presented to me are hereunto annexed, from N<sup>o</sup> 2, to N<sup>o</sup> 11; and I think the putting a stop to any abuses that may be practised under the authority of the English flag is an attention so worthy of this Government, that one or more members of the Board, or some of the senior servants, should be sent to inform themselves upon the spot, how far the complaints are true, and make the report to the Board.

Messrs. Johnstone and Hay assert, that the Nabob's ordering the Rungamatty Fougedars to receive the usual duties on goods for inland trade, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffer. I have referred more than once to the treaty with the Nabob Jaffer Aly Cawn, and do not find that it grants us any new privileges of trade; and colonel Clive, who certainly understood that treaty as well as any one, never would grant a Dustuck for salt, or any other article of trade, which had not usually been granted by former Governors.

Messrs. Johnstone and Hay insinuate, throughout their letter in terms not to be misunderstood, that my reason for wishing to restrain other gentlemen's Gomastahs, is, that my own may have the more power, and procure for me the greater profit. Although I am satisfied that such insinuations would obtain but little credit, yet it may not be improper to produce some instances, that I suffer equally with others when any obstructions do happen in  
our

our trade, and that I am the first to practice upon my own concerns, the restraint which I think should be laid upon our Gomastahs in general. For the first, I appeal to Mr. Amyatt, whether a number of boats of salt belonging to me, were not stopt at Cutwa, by the collector of that Gaur at the same time with others, and detained as long; and for the last I refer you to my orders of the 17th of December and 10th of January, to Mr. Moore, my agent at Rungpoor, and Mr. Baillie at Rungamatty, of which copies are hereunto annexed, N<sup>o</sup>. 12, and 13.

As you have been pleased to give it as your opinion, that Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, did properly in writing a letter to Sheer Aly, the Fougedar of Poornea, in their own name, instead of applying to the President, of course every other merchant will take the same authority. I am by no means sorry to be relieved from the trouble of such applications, yet I think it my duty, to give it as my opinion, that this entire levelling and equality will not be for the good of the Company's affairs, nor for the benefit of the society, and therefore to declare my disapprobation.

One reason Messrs. Johnstone and Hay give for writing this letter, deserves to be taken notice of, *An unwillingness in the President to believe complaints of this nature.* I request the Board will call on them, to produce any one instance, where I have either refused or delayed to give them, or any other merchant, every assistance they have asked of me, in the carrying on their private business, and obtaining redress for their grievances.

In short, gentlemen, their letter throughout is so very injurious to me as a gentleman, to say nothing of my station, that I should apply to you for justice against them, did I not perceive, that instead of shewing your displeasure at such behaviour,



viour, you have thought proper to give it the sanction of your approbation. I refer therefore to the honourable the Court of Directors, who, I am persuaded, will do me more justice.

I shall be glad to see the number of the members of the Board increased, and wish it could always be kept so; but if I had proposed to send for particular members from the subordinates to give their opinion on a particular subject, I should surely have been accused of an intention to make a majority to carry a particular point; and it is a precedent, which may at some time be applied to that purpose, and therefore I think a bad one.

As to the Major, he is to be a member of the Board, according to our honourable master's directions, *when military affairs only are under debate*. How the regulation of a method for carrying on our trade in salt, Betel-nut, and tobacco, can be brought under that title, I cannot conceive, nor how he can be supposed to be a judge of such a subject. Yet, if you conceive his advice can be of use, I am far from objecting to his being present. The matter in question, is not with me a point of contest or party; I wish only to see such rules laid down, that the Nabob and we may know our proper limits, and prevent our servants from transgressing them, which will require time and patience, and much care and attention. The best laws will sometimes be transgressed; but the inconveniencies which arise from such transgressions, ought not to be objected against the laws themselves, but against the transgressors, who can only be restrained by the constant care of government.

End of Vol. I.





